

THE
LIFE AND TIMES
OF
SIR THOMAS GRESHAM, KNT.

Founder of the Royal Exchange

INCLUDING
NOTICES OF MANY OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

BY JOHN WILLIAM BURTON

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II.



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The initial letters in this volume respectively exhibit portraits of Sir Richard Clough, (see p. 382); of Katharine of Berain, (see p. 379); and a view of Chequers Court, in Buckinghamshire, the seat of Sir Robert Frankland Russell, Bart., from a sketch made on the spot, in May, 1839: (see p. 391-2.)



PLAS-CLOUGH, DENBIGHSHIRE

CHAPTER V.

[1562 to 1566.]

PROGRESS OF THE TROUBLES—GRESHAM AT INTWOOD, AND AT ANTWERP—HIS GRIEVANCES—EFFECT OF THE TROUBLES ON COMMERCE—NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE DUCHESS OF PARMA—TWO CONFERENCES AT BRUGES—UNSETTLED STATE OF ANTWERP—OSTERLEY—THE BURSE ERECTED—A CRISIS IN FLANDERS—CLOUGH'S ACCOUNT OF THE TROUBLES—GRESHAM, WOTTON, AND THE PRINCE OF ORANGE AT ANTWERP—GRESHAM IN LONDON.



SIR THOMAS GRESHAM
FROM AN ENGRAVING BY J. H. COLEMAN

WHEN Sir Thomas Gresham was last mentioned, he was taking leave of young Cecil and his tutor; who left Antwerp, in order to proceed into Germany, on the 16th of August, 1562. His his-

tory is necessarily connected to such an extent

with the fate of Antwerp, that it will be better for many reasons to defer the mention of his name until a subsequent page; and, in the mean time, briefly to consider what had been the march of events in Flanders, since the history of that country was last brought under our immediate notice.

In the preceding chapter, having occasion to advert to the first indications of the Low-Country troubles, it became in a manner necessary to anticipate several statements, which, had the chronological arrangement of events, elsewhere adopted, been adhered to, would have fallen into the present, and even into a subsequent page. It seemed best, however, to forego the advantage of a chronological narrative; and having now reached the period when the seeds of discontent, already noticed, had ripened into dissension among the people, and faction among their rulers, our former imperfect and disconnected sketch of Flemish history may be consistently resumed, and proceeded with.

It has been already stated that Cardinal Granvelle, Bishop of Arras, (Philip's favourite minister, and virtually the governor of the Low Countries, inasmuch as he governed the regent,) had rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the Flemings,—commoners as well as individuals of rank. The latter, in fact, had so assiduously laboured to effect his ruin, that they actually

succeeded at last in procuring his removal from Antwerp : but this was not till the year 1564 ; nor was it without earning for themselves the deep resentment of the King of Spain : so that if one of the contending parties was appeased by this measure, the other was aggravated, and rendered more inimical than before.

The mischief, in the mean time, had been done. The cardinal had fostered,—he was believed to have originated,—measures the most unpopular, and repugnant to the spirit of the age ; and these, with their long train of consequent evils, slowly worked their way, long after his departure from Antwerp.

First in order of time, was the establishment of twelve new bishoprics in the provinces. That this scheme,—for which the papal bull was obtained with considerable difficulty and delay,—had been for years a favourite project with Philip, is certain ; and that he, and no one else, was to blame for this infringement on the rights and revenues of the established clergy of Flanders, seems equally clear : but the populace, in their hatred of the obnoxious cardinal, attributed the measure entirely to him ; and when they witnessed his elevation to the archiepiscopal see of Malines in 1561, they required no further confirmation of their suspicions.

Next,—and this was by far the most formidable of the evils with which Flanders was threatened,—came the projected introduction of the Inquisition into that country. This odious project exasperated all classes, and aroused, as might be expected, the indignation of the populace to the last degree. They made up their minds that their enemy, the cardinal, was at the root of this grievance also ; that he had proposed the measure to King Philip ; and that it was a scheme for making himself Inquisitor-general, while the twelve bishops were to become Inquisitors, each over his respective diocese. The ostensible motive for the introduction of this system, was the same which had been assigned for the formation of the new bishoprics,—namely, the security of the established Roman Catholic religion : but whereas the latter measure, however unpopular at first, proved in a short space so far palatable, that at the Council of Trent it encountered but little opposition, the affair of the Inquisition was soon found to be altogether intolerable. It admitted of no compromise, and became eventually the grand pretext for rebellion, and the immediate occasion of all the horrors of the civil war which ensued.

So loud and so general throughout the Low Countries was the outcry raised against the proposed introduction of this novelty, that Philip

deemed it expedient to temporize, and condescend to the lowest equivocations. The Baron Montigny, and Count Egmont, subsequently repairing to the court of Spain, the one in 1563, and the other in the year following, were assured by the king that their suspicions of his intentions relative to the Inquisition, were groundless. Towards the close of 1565, however, he threw off the mask, and ordered the Duchess of Parma rigidly to enforce obedience to the measure, throughout the Low Countries. From that hour, all hopes of internal tranquillity became vain: confidence was destroyed on either side, and seditious movements were openly made in the principal cities of the provinces.

It is impossible to discuss the state of Flanders in the year 1562, without adverting to the religious conflict which was raging at the time in France, between the Papists, headed by the Duke of Guise, on the one hand; and the Huguenots, under the Prince of Condé, on the other. The alternate successes of either party are minutely reflected in the public correspondence of the period; but the feature mainly deserving of our notice is the share which England took in the quarrel. Alarmed for its national safety if the Roman Catholics should prevail, the English government at first sought to bring about a pacification between the contending parties; but when the attempt proved

unavailing, it became a measure of self-defence to grant to the endangered Huguenots the aid they solicited. Queen Elizabeth entered into a convention with the Prince of Condé, in the month of September ; announcing her intention to possess herself of all those harbours in Normandy, whence a descent on the English coast by the papal faction might be apprehended, but promising at the same time not to retain them beyond the period of danger ; and pledging herself to recall her forces when peace should be re-established in France, and the town of Calais restored, according to the covenanted stipulation. A naval armament was accordingly sent to Havre-de-Grace, then called Newhaven ; on which the Huguenot chiefs delivered the town, as they had agreed, peaceably, into the possession of the English.

The aid thus granted by Queen Elizabeth to the Protestant party was of the highest importance ; for, as it will be seen, the Spaniards were openly assisting their more powerful opponents. Philip regarded the cause of the Duke of Guise as his own ; and, urged forwards by his religious zeal, was for the extermination of the Huguenots. Thus much it seemed desirable to premise, concerning the occurrences which, at the period under consideration, engaged the attention of all Europe ; and especially of the northern portion, where the

scene of our story chiefly lies. How fatal they were to the commerce of Antwerp, may be easily conceived. On Gresham's arrival at that city in July 1562,—an event which was noticed in its proper place,—he found the inhabitants all in a ferment: but the letter which he addressed on that occasion to Sir William Cecil happens to be in existence, and shall be here inserted.

“ Right honorable Sir,

“ After my most humble commendacions, it maye like you to understand that, as this daye, I aryved here at xi of the clocke at noon: and at that instant, I received this packet of letters from Doctor Mownte, to be sent unto you with all the speed that may be; and, for my discharge, I have sent you it purposely in post. Advertising your honor that, as yet, I have not spoken with one of the Queen's Majestie's creditors; neyther for the prolonging, nor taking up: wyche matter will ask a tyme; therefore yow must have patience.

“ The occurants be here, that by the practise of Mons' de Guyse, the fyve fortes in Pyamown, [Piedmont,] wyche were kept to the French King's use, be delivered up to the Duke of Savoye: and that the said Duke hath sent the soldiers that were in the said fyve towns, under the conduyt of the Prince of Mantewa, to the assistance of the Duke of Guyse. Wyche newes

is come this daye from Paris, by letters of the xxist of this pressent. And that the said Prince of Mantewa hath in two places overthrown xii c men of the Prince of Condé: whiche [news,] I take it, to be of the device of some papist; whercof I doo right well knowe that you have perfecter advice from my Lorde Ambassador, than I can give you from hense. To the wiche I refer me. Further, is nothing certain.

“ Likewise, here is no other news but that the Qucene’s Majestie will have wars with Mons^r de Guyse, and take parte with the Prince of Condé; and that the Queene’s Majestie hath above xx m men in a rediness.—Fynally, if a man shuld write of all things that passeth here, it were too much to molest you withall. For, at this instant, I can write you of nothing certain; but every man speakes according to his religione. And thus, desiring you to doo my most humble commendacions to my Lorde Robert Dudley, I comit you to God. From Andwerpe, the xxviith of July, a^o 1562.

At your honnor’s commandment,

THOMAS GRESHAM.

Verte follio.

“ They write out of Germanny, that the viith of September next, the Emperor’s son Maximilliane shall be crownyd king of Bohemya, in the city of Sprague. As allso, the xxviith of October, the

Emperor with all the Princis doth meet at Franckefort, for the electing of a new Emperor ; as they say here.

“ It maye please your honnor, bye your next, to wryte me your pleasure whether I shall send you Doctor Mount’s letters in post, or to stey them bye me till the ordinary post goeth. For that ever the letters come on Mondaye, and our post departes upon Sundaye aftyr : because a post wyll cost iiij or v *li.* at the least.”

“ To the right honorable Sir William
Cecill, knight : the Queene’s Ma-
jestic’s principall Secretary.”^a

In Gresham’s next letter, which is dated the 1st of August, he mentions that Count Mansfeld was actively engaged in raising a troop of horse-soldiers for the King of Spain ; and with the same piece of intelligence he commences his next letter, written eight days after. The following passage is well deserving of insertion.

“ I am right glad I have passed over that [store of ammunition which] is done already : for here comes such newes out of France dayly, that every man cannot tell what to saye nor doo. Here is nowe a brewte raised that the king hathe sent to Mons^r de Guyse, iiij m Spanyards out of Spayne : also [that] the King of Spayne doth provide se-

^a Flanders Correspondence, State-Paper Office.

cretlie, iij m horsemen by the Countie of Mansfyld : as allso [that] there is arryved to the Duke of Guyse, vi m Almaines, brought by the Ringrave. So that, nowe, they think the Prince of Condé too much under the foote to withstand this byssoness, except the Queene's Majestie dothe assist hym. Assewring you, the gravest and wysest men here let [hesitate] not to say, [that] if the Queene's Majestie dothe not helpe, (having this opportunity,) if Monsieur de Guyse and the papists should have the upper hand,—let her Majestie make her reconning they will vissit her for religion's sake ! Wyche thinge hathe made suche an allteracione of credit as this pen cannot wryte you. Beseeching the Lorde to put into her Majestie's head, and you, and the rest of my Lordes of her most honnorable counsel, to doo that thinge that maie be for the best. For now is the time (they saye here) to recover those pieces that we have lost of late in France ; or else, better pieces. Being right assured her Majestie hath provyssion of men, munission, and armour, to doo it withall : wyche is not hydden, but well known to all Prynces of Christendom.

“ I will not inlarge any further in this matter, [by pointing out] what a treasure and strength it is to her Majestie, and her realme ; because *I* have beene the doer thereof. But if I were of

that [such] credit with her Majestie, [as to be] abell to perswade withe her Highness, I wolde wishe there were provyded iij or iiij c m [3 or 400,000 *lbs.*] weight of salte-pettar more, for all events; for that I know her Majestie hathe brymstone enough to make xx c m waight of salt-peter; and I knowe she hath by her not past iiij c m waight of clean salt-peter. And, be you right assewred, it will be only *that* thinge she shall lacke, iff warres should chance: which shold be foreseen in tyme; because our forces and shippes be nothing, without powder. For, as your honnor doth know, here will none be suffered to pass out of the Kinge of Spayne's dominions. As also, I trust you are furnished with bowe-staves enough. I write you this muche, because Maister Blomefyllde said unto me,—‘If the Queene's Majestie had iiij c m waight of salt-peter, and l m bowe staves more in store, it wolle be no smalle treassure unto her and her realme, for a great tyme.’ ”^b

After about a fortnight had elapsed, Gresham received Cecil's reply to this letter; for, on the 22nd of August, he wrote as follows:—

“I perseve that, shortely, I shall knowe your pleassuer for the provyssione of salte pettir and bowe-staves. Veryly Sir, it ys a thinge better than annye treassore that yt wyll aske a large tyme

^b Ant. Aug. 9, 1562.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

for the provyding of anny masse; by the reason here can be shipped none from hens, without licens. And, as your honnor knoweth, Breame and Handborowe [Bremen and Hamburg] ys the plasse whereas yt must be shippid; and [it must be] bought as far as the land of Boemya, where the best is to be had: and, as you know, it is the thinge [which] cannot be missed [dispensed with] for the diffens of our forts and shippes.”^c

It will, of course, be remembered, that these historical notices occur only incidentally in Gresham's correspondence. He was occupied with financial cares, and therefore generally speaks in the character of a financial officer. A short extract from his next letter will illustrate this. It is dated August the 16th, 1562, and was conveyed to Cecil by the regular weekly post.

“ These monny men be affraide to deall annye forther with the Queene's Majestie, by the reason they cast so manny doutes of this trobellsome world, as yt is wondyrfull to wryte of. And here is no other comonycacyone, but that yf Mons^r de Guyse have the upper hande of the Protestants, that then, the French kinge, the Kinge of Spayen, the Pope, the Duke of Savoye, and those of that religgion, wyll set upon the Quene's Majestie,—only for Relygyone's sake; whether she dothe

^c Ant. Aug. 22, 1562.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

take parte or not. Wherupon, here ys soche great dowtes caste upon our Estate, as the creadyte of the Queene's Majestie and all the whole nacyon ys at a stay; and glad ys that man that maye be quit of a Inglishman's bill! The sayinge is here that Mons^r de Guyse hathe takyn the town of Poyttyers, and hathe kyllled and maymed above ij m personnes; wiche ys a pitteus hearinge: and that now, Mons^r de Guyse increassys his power daylly. Wiche ys a mattir to be lookyd upon in tyme, for the Queene's Majestie, and you, and the reste of my Lordes of her most honnorable counsayll.

"Here is now great communicacyone that the Queene's Majestie hath xii great ships abroad; and that her highness sends to the aid of the Prince of Condé, x m men: wyche is marvellus well liked of all this countrie. For now, every man says the like tyme and opportunity her Majestie is never lyke to have, whereby to come by Calais, or some other such like piece; which I praie God send us.

"P. S. Mons^r de Guyse, and his sorte, [party,] begynnes to growe in great nesessyty of monny; for all the great assystanse he hathe from the Byshope of Rome, Kinge of Spayen, or other. Trusting in God he will cut his own throat for lacke of monny!"^d

^d Ant. Aug. 16, 1562.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

With two other extracts of a somewhat similar complexion, this part of the subject shall be dismissed; lest the reader should grow weary of the details. The first is from a letter bearing date the 20th of August; and the second, from a letter written two days after.

“Here ys newes come that the Ringgrave and Mons' de Guyse be fallen at great disseanssione, by the reason his men will not fyte agaynst the Prince of Condey: for that they proffess the same religione: as likewise, there ys intelligens come out of Ittaly that the Duke of Florins and the Duke of Farrara be fallen out; and that the Bishope of Rome will take the parte of the Duke of Florens in that quarrel: as likewise, the state of Venys wyll take parte wythe the Duke of Farrara. The serteynty of the quarell, at this present, I cannot wryte your honnore; but by my next, I trust I shall, yf it be trewe. To conclude in this mattir; here ys in this towne such joye, as it is uncreadible [if I were] to write yow. The men that was provydyd in Germany for the Prince of Condey dothe remayen in one estate, as by the last letters I advertised yow; and wyll not stir till they knowe how they shal be answered, and paid for their servize: wyche is here moche lamentid of the onnest sorte,—considering what religione they proffess, and that they shuld es-

teme more, monnyes, than the religione they profess.”^c

“ Here, every man’s head is [so] full of this matter of France, that they cannot tell what to doo: fearing this matter will not be so endyd, but that yt wolle set all Crysten princis together by the eares. For now, the saying is, that the Prynssis protestants of Germanny be ressolved and agreeede with Mons^r Dandolee, [Dandelot]; and that the iiij m horsemen, and iij m foutemen shuld marché the xvth of this month. Also, there is newes come out of France, that the Quene of Navare and the wyfe of the Prince of Condey shuld be incamped, wythe x m men; and [that they] have laid siege to Towllowse, and have wonne the towne againe by assaulte. As also, the saying is here, that Newhaven [Havre] and Diepe shuld be deliverid up to the Queene’s Majestie; and that her highnes’ shipes shuld be there: wyche I praie God to be trewe.”^f

The preceding was written on the 22nd of August: on the 29th, (the last letter from which an extract shall be given,) Gresham addressed Sir William Cecil as follows:—“ I sent you my last, of the xxvth of this present; and, according as I have writtin you, here hathe been and ys suche

^c Ant. Aug. 20, 1562.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

^f Ant. Aug. 22, 1562.—Ibid.

practissing bye Mons^r de Guyse with the Kinge's jewells, as otherwyse, for the taking up of ij c m crownes; as allso bye the Courte here,—as it is uncreadible [if I were] to write you. For as none of them both hath no creadit, so, I will assure you, here ys the greatest scarsity of monny in this place that ever was hearde or seen: for that, as yet, I have not receaved one penny of the xxiiij m *li.* that I have tackynne up. It is too muche to write you, of the scarssity and povertie of monny that ys: assuring you, that this xxiiij m *li.* that I have now takyn up, will troubill all this burse [more] than in tymes past iij c m *li.* wold have done. Giving your honnor to understand that if this monny were to be takyn up at this instant, it wold not be found, at no price.”^a

Such was the state of affairs in Flanders about the close of the year 1562; at which time Sir Thomas Gresham once more returned to England.^b

^a Ant. Aug. 29, 1562.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

^b He seems to have left Antwerp on the last day of August, or during the first few days in September, for the Council-book (MS. fol. 58,) states that he made his appearance at Greenwich on the 6th. Among the State-Papers is preserved ‘A note of the Queene’s Majestie’s debts due in Flanders, this present month of August, 1562;’—sum total, due 20th Aug. 64,523*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.*—On the 19th of September, he was ordered (by a royal letter dated from Hampton Court,) to make 30,000*l.* Flemish, which he had taken up, sterling money, by taking up in addition 100,000 French crowns: ‘which sommes we desyre to have by

After the numerous extracts from his correspondence which have been already given, it becomes superfluous to observe that the events, or the rumours of the day form the general topic of his letters; added to occasional notices of the progress he was making in the queen's affairs, which now became so difficult of management as to be almost impracticable. He remained in England till the following spring; indebted to Richard Clough, as usual, during the interval, for Flemish intelligence. One short extract shall be given from a letter which Clough wrote on the 7th of March, 1562-3, because it communicates an event which arrested the progress of the religious troubles in France; namely, the death of the Duke of Guise, which occurred a fortnight previous to the date of the letter. That eminent commander was engaged in the siege of Orleans, which he would probably have brought to a successful termination, when he was basely assassinated as he was riding from the camp to his lodging. "For occurrants," says Clough, "it followyth that the Duke of Guese ys departyd, (whose soule God pardone!) and that

exchange layde redy for us in High Almaign, in this sort; viz. 21,000*l.* or 70,000 crowns to be provided by the 20th of October, at Strasburg; and 9,000*l.* or 30,000 crowns, at Frankfort or Strasburg, in the space of a month.—Gresham was further ordered to give a bill of credit for "... m crownes to Sir Thomas Smith."—*Copy.* Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

the Duke of Namore ys appoyntyd in his plase : yett some do affyrme that Monsure de Tumpase shuld be made generale. But yett, to thys daye, they are nott sattysfyed here, howe that he was slayne.”ⁱ We learn from another source, that a young man of Lyons had come dressed like a horse-soldier, on a Spanish jennet, pretending to have a communication of importance to the duke ; but that instead of a letter, he drew from under his long cloak a pistol, and shot the unsuspecting nobleman through the shoulder. He was wounded on the 18th of February, and immediately rode with all speed to Paris, where he expired on the 24th. This catastrophe, aided by the presence of English forces in France in support of the Protestants, led to that settlement of differences which had before been unattainable : an edict of pacification, highly favourable to the Protestant cause, was obtained on the 19th of March : on which, the English surrendered Havre de Grace ; and in April, 1563, peace was again restored between the two countries, though no restitution of Calais took place.

The letter from which the foregoing short extract was made, met Gresham at Dover, on his way back to Flanders, on the 10th of March, 1563. He had passed the winter in England ;

ⁱ March 7, 1562-3.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

and as the time for paying the queen's creditors approached, it became necessary that he should once more make his appearance in the city and on the burse of Antwerp.^k Clough's letter he immediately forwarded to Sir William Cecil, appending to it a few lines of his own ; and on the 18th, arrived at his place of destination. His first letter, announcing that event, contains a few passages which deserve to be recorded.

“ Right honorable Sir,

“ After my humble commendacions, it maye like you to undyrstand that on the xvijth of this pressent, I arryvid in Andwerpe : and since my comyng, I have concludid wythe Paullus Brocketrope and Mauris Ranzavy for their whole debt, dew the xxth of February, to paye the xxth of August next. As this daye, my factor Richard Clowghe departes for Deventor, about the bissoness your honnor sent hym to Accone for ; and, (God willing,) will be here agayn

^k From “ A note of all soche somes of Flemish money as that I, Thomas Gresham, took up in Andwerpe for the Queene's Majestie's behoffe, the xxth of August, 1562,” (a document endorsed ‘ Dec. 4, 1562,’) we learn what amount of treasure remained in his custody at the close of the year ; “ and so remayneth in my chest in redy monny, viz. In Spannish Rialls, Crownes, and Angells, iij m *li*. In sofferans, ij m *li*. In our [ore ?] with Inglishe monnye, xii m ix c lxvij *li*. xvii *s*. ix *d*.”—T. G. to Sir W. C.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

wythyn viij dayes at the furthest." After communicating some French intelligence, Gresham proceeds thus:—"Here ys none other comunicacion amonges all nacions [but] that and if the peace be made in France, the Prince of Condé must geve thanckes to God and the Queene's Majestie of Inglande, for the assisting of hym. Wyche, I will insewre you, ys suche a honnor to the Queene's Majestie, and to yow, and to all my Lordes of her most honnorable counsayle, as the like never came to Inglande; by the reason, the Queene's Majestie hathe beene the onelye staye that the trewe worde of God shall take playse; which God grante, and send her highness Calais agayen!—The Cardenall [Granvelle] ys here clean out of reputacione of all the nobills, and littill regardid of all others, for his Religione sake; whoe dothe all with the Regent. All be it, he ys now gentler to be 'treattid upon this newes, for that here ys no more comonycacione for the establishing of the Bishopes. From Andwerpe, the xxist of Marche, a^o 1562 [−3.]

At your honnor's commandement,

THOMAS GRESHAM.

"Since the writing hereof, here ys advertisements come that the Prince of Condé hathe the gouverance of the Realme,—and that Mons^r Châtillione ys great maister of France,—and that his

eldest son ys Admerall of France,—and that Mons^r Dandelot ys Cappitayne generall of all the horsemen in France,—and that Mons^r Le Vidam [de Chartres] ys gouvernor of Normandye,—and the Countie of Rocheforthe, gouvernor of Gasgoyne and of those quartters: as likewise, the Cardenall of Guyse, with the Pressident, and dyvers other of the Parlement of Paris, ys fled; whome were all the workers agaynst the Prince of Condé's proceedings. It is thought that the Prince, now being in armes, will pressently vissyt some plassis of this Lowe Countrey; wyche if he dothe, they be here clean out of all order,—bothe of men and of all other provissions. And as I wold wishe a shuld come, for to make them a littill knowe themselves, (wherbye the trewe word of God might take place);—so I wold nott, on the other syde, he shuld do anny great hurte; wherby he might waxe too mightie: considering how benefyciall this countrye lies for Ingland, for the uttering of our commodities.

“ Sir, it ys muche doubted there will be muche adoo this sommer amonges Christen prinsis for the Religione: wherein King Phillipe and [his] fryndes will distorbe all that he can, for to maynteayn the Papisterye. In consideraçon wherof, yf it stooode nowe wythe the Quene's Majestie's pleasure as to man out, presently, xx of her high-

ness' best ships of war to kepe the narrow seas, (wherbye to kepe this countrye and France in some fear and awe of her Majestie,)—by so doing, her Highness shuld be allwayes ready to enter into Callis; and to doo what exployte she wolde, as occasyone shuld be geven. For that here they be extreemly affrayde of the Queene's ships,—considering how they know she ys armyd with all kind of armewr, and munission; whiche ys not a littill spoken of here amonges all nacyones: and what a moment they make of it, I will [lev]e for moleasting you therewith, because *I* was the doer thereof. And so, Sir, considering this dangerous world that y's like to be, I wold I were of that credit wythe the Queene's Majestie, and I were abill to perswade wythe her Highnes to make provissione for the some of x m *li.* worthe of salte peter: bye the reason there ys no weppon so estemyd as the gun is. And not knowing what necessity her Highness shall be dryven unto heraftir, for lacke thereof, it wolle [require to] be considered a yere or two before; for that the provissione must be bought far off, and transportted and shipped at Handborrowe; wyche will axe a tyme, as your honnor dothe right well knowe.”¹

A few words have been already offered, illustrative of the relative position of England and

¹ Ant. March 21, 1562-3. —Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

the Low Countries at this period ; and the subject must be so soon recurred to, that it will be enough to say of the rising troubles, (which have been hitherto noticed chiefly as intestine broils,) that they rendered insecure the property of the English factory settled at Antwerp and elsewhere. The pirates which infested the seas made the intercourse between the two countries both difficult and dangerous ; added to which, the constant rumours which prevailed of an approaching breach with England proved so nearly fatal to commerce, that, for a time, it could scarcely be conducted at all.

This position of affairs in Flanders must have operated to render a residence in that country particularly unpleasant ; and Gresham was doubtless glad to find himself again domiciled in England, in June 1563 ; on the 24th of which month we discover that he was in London, by a letter which he wrote to Cecil, with a quaint apology for not having waited upon him in person before. “ I wold have wayted upon you myselfe, but that I am somewhat acrassid [crazed.]”

On the 2nd of August, the plague broke out. It had been imported by our soldiers from Havre, where it raged so hotly, that Cecil, writing to Sir Thomas Smith, compared that town to “ a denne of poyzon,” and congratulated himself on its

recent evacuation by the English. In order to escape the infection, Gresham hastened with his family down to his "poor house at Intwood," near Norwich, whence he addressed the following letter to the secretary, on the 15th. At this time, the plague prevailed in London with such violence, that, according to Cecil, above a thousand persons died in every week. Stowe has recorded, that out of 23,660 deaths which occurred in the metropolis and the immediate vicinity, from the 1st of January to the 31st of December, 1563, 20,136 were occasioned by the plague.^m "The poore cittizens of London," he adds, "were this yeere plagued with a threefold plague; pestilence, scarcitie of money, and dearth of victuals: the miserie wherof were too long here to write. No doubt the poore remember it: the rich, by flight into the countries, made shift for themselves."

"Right honnorable Sir,

"After my most humble comendations, it maye like you to understand that I have resevid yours of the ixth of this present, [August]; being verrie sorrie for your great heviness, whiche I shall most humblie desier you to put noe nearer your hart, then you are abill to shake off; seing

^m Stowe's Chronicle, ed. 1631, p. 656 b and 657 b.—Ellis' Letters, 2nd Ser. vol. ii. p. 275. The preceding quotation was from Wright's Elizabeth and her Times, vol. i. p. 136.

it is not to be holpen : for that it is well known to all men how carefull you were to bring all things to quyetnes, to the great honnor of the Quene's Majestie and the realme. And whereas you wishe me ther, I wolde have presentlie wayttid upon you, but that I have noe house to put my head in, but in London, for me and myne ; whiche I wolde be lothe to come in as yet, considering the great sicknes I understand is yet ther. Therefore I have sent you by this bringer, (my servant, John Conniers,) the note of the prolongations for the making of the newe bandes, seing ther is no other reamedy. And therewith I doe intend, (if we rest in peace with those countries, and that I maye in saftie passe over,) to resorte frome hense towards Flanders, for the better preserving of the Quene's Majestie's honor and creadit, and sattisfication of the creditors : for, dowghtless, my being there shall somewhat mollyfie and sattisfie them. Most humbly beseeching her Majestie, if it stand soe with her Highness' pleasure that I shall goe, that I maye have ij or three good shippes of warre to waift me over with her bondes from Yarmowth into Sealland ; for that I understand there is dyvers Frenche shippes of war abroad. Having apoynted Conniers to resorte hether with the said bondes, and my Instrucions, whiche I have drawn by a note of

my formall Instrucions, (if they like you,) for my better dispatche.

“ Good Sir, the more haste there is maide in the writing of the bands, the sooner they will be there ; by the reason the payments be at hand, and there is no reamedye but some sattisfaction must be presentid in tyme, for the preserving of the Queene’s honnor and creadit : whiche hath bin, and is, all my care,—considering to what good pourpose it hath bin brought, and how moche creadit hath stood her in stead ; as your honnor dothe right well knowe.—Likewise, I shall most humblie desier you as ther may be such order takin, that my billes of exchange for the ij m v c *li.* may be paid, (which will falle out the last of this month) ; by the reason, this plague tyme, there is noe money nor creadit to be had in the streat of London, [Lombard-street] : for I understand by my servant Candeller, that everie man is afraide to speke one with another. Therefore, it maye please you to move the Queene’s Majestie to see it presentlie paide ; and herafter, when the plague is passid, and everie man falls to his trade agayne, monny will be better to be had. Therefore I praye you, Sir, for this tyme, to consider what great moment it is unto me to run upon the Exchange, for the preserving of my poore name and creadit ; which is the chefest substance

that God hath sent me,—as you doe right well knowe.

I thanke you for my warrants ; and for your bill obligatorie, which I have recevid by Candeler. Praying you, if ther be anny other servise or pleasure I can doe for you, to commaunde me during life.—Other, I have not to molest your withal ; but I shall most humbly desier you to doo my most humble commendacions to my verrie singewlar good Lorde, my Lorde Robert Dudlie : as knowith the Lorde, whoe preserve you with increas of honnor.—Frome my poure house at Intwode, the xvth of August, 1563.

At your honnor's commandment,

THOMAS GRESHAM." "

Some account of Intwood was given in the first chapter ; together with a view of the old Hall, as it appeared anciently. In addition to the usual members of his household,—consisting of himself and his wife, his son Richard, now a youth about fifteen years of age, and Anne, his natural daughter,—Gresham seems at this time to have been entertaining at Intwood one of the Cheneys ; for the foregoing letter is sealed with the arms of Lord Cheney, encircled by the garter. The Instructions which the writer drew up for himself, in order to save Cecil trouble, have not been

" Flanders Correspondence, State-Paper Office.

preserved ; nor did he start for Antwerp so soon as one would have anticipated. In a note,^o will be found the orders with which he was furnished eleven days subsequent to the date of his communication to the secretary ; after which, nearly a month seems to have elapsed, ere he left Intwood : but his Instructions, as he himself informs us, were dated the 23rd of August ; and contained a clause with which he had little reason to feel satisfied.

We are indebted, as usual, to Gresham himself for intelligence as to how he prospered in his mission. He writes to the secretary, " From the

• The following rough draft, in Cecil's hand-writing, bears date August 26, 1563. " Right trusty and wellbeloved, we grete you well. Wher[as] we ar informed that the Factors of Brocktropp and Rantzom, (to whom we ar indetted in sondry sommes of monny, payable this August,) ar come to Antwerp ; and doo so persist in the demand of there monny, as, if they may not have therof redy payement, they will procede by order of law and arrest there ; wherin you and our Merchants shall be in danger, besyde some touch of discreditt :—wherfor, our pleasur is, that ye shall have good regard herunto ; and doo *that* ye can to prolong the same dett, as ye shall doo others. And if ye cannot for so long tyme, yet to prolong the same for iij months : and if that cannot be, to prove what ye can possibly doo to take upp as much of some other merchants, (ether strangers or English,) as ye can, to satisfye the importunity of the sayd merchants. And therin, to use all the wisdom that is requisite, to take upp the same uppon reasonable interest, or by exchange, for ij months : and this shall be your sufficient warrant in that behalf."—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

Subeyrdes of Andwarpe," on the 28th of September; informing him that on the 25th, at five o'clock in the evening, he had taken shipping from Harwich, in her majesty's ship called the Swallow, 'Captain Handshewe;' that he had arrived at Armew in Zealand on the following day, at eleven o'clock at noon; had taken his passage, the day after, to Bourbourg; and finally arrived at his destination at four o'clock in the afternoon, "wythowght the towen of Andwarpe, for that I cold not have no leave to come into Andwarpe, because of the greate plage that is at London." ^p

Gresham's next letter is dated the 3rd of October; wherein he says that, since he wrote last, 'it had pleased the Lords of the towne to licence him to come into the town to his house, with all his servants;' and that he had succeeded in contenting all the queen's creditors except Rantzowe and Brocketrope. "I colde bye no meanes bringe the factor of the sayd men to conclaude with me; by the reason his comission exstendyd only to be paid, or elles to arest me; and to proceed in justice." He relates how he had persuaded this agent to repair to his masters, and see if he could not persuade them to agree to the prolongation of the debt, by promising to

defray the expenses of his journey, and to give him on his return a chain of gold ; and he insists on the indispensable necessity of the queen's getting ready by the 20th of November, 20,000*l.* in gold, to be sent over to Antwerp for the purpose of being coined there, which would be more advantageous to the queen, he said, than paying by exchange.

But a private concern of his own, which occupies all the rest of this letter, remains to be noticed. Queen Elizabeth, (probably with the connivance of 'Master Secretary,') in pursuance with that spirit of retrenchment, amounting to meanness, which characterized so many of her proceedings, had thought proper to reduce her merchant's salary of twenty shillings a-day ; this he terms "abrigging me of my diets," for which, he adds, "methinks the Quene's Majestie deals verie hardly and extremely with me. Your honnor hath bynne onely privie to all my devises and doings ; and, consideringe how moche I have all wayes bynne beholden unto you in the declaringe thereof to her highness, so, Sir, I am the bolder to molest you with my greiffe, and to open my poore meaning unto you, that it may please you to be a meynne now unto the Quene's Majestie for me ; and to put her in remembrance of my servisse done this fyve yeres, that she maie

have some remorse upon me,—according to her Majestie's promise that she maid me, before you, at her highness' house at Hatfield, the xxth of November, an^o 1558, when I took this great charge upon me. And *that* was, yf I did her the like service as I did either to the King, her latte brother, or to the Quene, her latte syster, she promised me, by the fayth of a Quene, she wold geve me as moche land as both the King her brother, and the Quene her syster, dyd. And thereupon, her Majestie gave me her hand to kysse it; and I exseptid this great charge agayn. And now, fyndinge that I have done her Majestie more service of greater importance, and of greater charge and masse all manner of wayes than I have done, either to the King her latte brother, and to the Quene her latte systor, put bothe their doings together,—for that theyre charge, put them both together, dyd amount to the sum of vii c lx m *li*. [760,000*l*.]; and her Majestie's doth amownt alone, by accownts all readdy passid, as your honnor dothe right well knowe, to the some of viii c xxx m *li*. [830,000*l*.]—which I will, with your honnors leve, partelye touch for your better remembrans.

“ First, at her Majestie's comyng to the crown, I hadd tackin uppe by me in Andwerpe, the sum of xxv m *li*.; for the wiche I caussid her highness

to make a bargaen withe her merchants to resseve in England, and to paye here : wherin I savid her a good pece of monye, *and servyd the turn for her Coronacyone*.—Secondlie, I tocke dyvers other somes for the savinge of her turn, dyvers and sundrie ways, and then made practisse with the merchaunts for to macke payement here, of their cloths, as other wysse : which did not a littill redound to her Majestie's profytte.—Thyrdely, for the furnyshyng her Majestie with all kynde of armewr and monission for the defens of her Majestie and the Realme : whereby all Crysten prinssis hayth her Majestie and the realme in estimacion.—Forthelye, since she left [ceased] to use the marchaunts for payement of her detts, howe I have chargid mye creadit by Exchange, some tyme for l m li., xl m li., xxx m li., xxv m li., and xx m li., at dyvers tymes.—Fyvethely, I tocke up in one daye in the streate of London, [Lombard-street,] upon my own billes and creadit xxv m li. for her usse ; to her Majestie's great fardill and proffyte.—Sixtely, whereas the King's Majestie her Father, and King Edward her latte brother, and Quene Marie her latte syster, dyd always paie xiiii upon the hundred ; and licke wyse [were] fayen to tacke juelles for one parte, or elles they colde come bye no reddy monny, for the serving of there tornes ;—since she came to

the crowne, I have brought down her interest to xii appon the hundred: whereby I savyd her in readdie monny in her coffers at tymes, that should have issewed owght at tymes, as good as xx m markes; as by the accounte shall appere. As allso, I never brought her Majestie no juells to no bargayen, as you doo ryght well knowe.—Seventtlye, I have bye her commandment otherwyse lent my credit to all her Imbassidors for no smalle somes of monye: as, to S^r Nycollas Throkemorton, S^r Thomas Smythe, and to S^r Thomas Chamberlyen, whome owes me one thowsand pownds leant hym in Spayen; whome had not bynne abell to come home, if I hadd not bynne [there]; wiche, here writying to your honnour, I am yet unpaid, and cannot get my monnye.—Eyghtly, this ys the xxiiijth jorney that I have tackynne over the seyes for her Majestie, of no smalle charge; dyvers tymes in great danger of my lyffe with drowning. And hitherto, I have allways accomplyshed her Majestie's commandment and instruccions in all poyntes, to her Majestie's great honnoure and credit thorow all Crystendome. And besydes this, my legge was brocken in her Majestie's servize, whereby I am become lame; and now, I doo waxe olde. And, seinge that my servize dothe exteand to a greattir benefitt to her Majestie and to her realme than her Majestie dyd

requyre of me at the fyrst, I trust her Highness wille be as goode unto me as the King her latte brother, and the Quene her latte syster was ; for so her highness promised me. Wherein, good Sir, I shall most humbly beseche your honnore, (as my trust ys in God and yow,) that you will be my meyne to her Majestie, as that I maie have my olde acostomyd allowans, and that I maie have such rewarde for my servize as thereunto appertenyth : and that it maie not be thus put in oblyvione, as mythinkes now it ys, scinge her Majestie begyns thus to abrige me of [my] dietz in England, affore her highness haithe maid me any recompens for my servize. For the wyche, I have wrytten a lctyr to her Majestie, wherein I have towchid my greife as fayre as I dare. And wheras I am allowid xx*s.* a daye, I have not, nor doo not escape with *iiij li.* a daye,—all my chargis bothe here and [in] England accownttyd. I have sent you a coppye of the Quene's letter, for your honour to consider whether yow thincke it convenyent to be dellivered or not ; praying you now, (as my trust ys in God and you,) that you will stycke unto me, for this ys the thing that ever I have had in my head to troubell yowe withe all,—I meyne for the recompence of my servinge, to be opteynnyd at the prynssis handes ; havinge oftentimes, thorowe your goodness, conferryd with you in that behallfe.

Wherein I can saye nor wryte no more, but the wyll of God and her Majestie be fulfyllid! And for my parte, howsoever I shall be considered, I shall remayen her faythefull trew servaunt to doo her highness the best servize that lies in my power to doo, as long as God shall send me lyffe. Praying you, goode Sir, to bere with me that I am so longe and teddyus unto you in this mattir; for that I will insewre you, it haythe and dowthe yett disquyet me.”^a

It was just now stated, that it was probably with the connivance of Sir William Cecil that Queen Elizabeth reduced Gresham's income; but of this, I feel by no means certain; for, strange as it may appear, about this very time Cecil was lamenting, in a confidential letter to Windebank, his son's tutor, the narrowness of his own circumstances. His words are these: “I am dryven in service here into such lack as I never looked for. I am forced to sell myn office in the comen place, [Court of Common Pleas,] which was the stayer of my lyving. I cannot carve for myself; but if I might avoyd the Court, and service, I should recover my losses.”^r He cannot be supposed to have been a party to his own ruin; and it therefore only remains to suppose that his royal mis-

^a Ant. Oct. 3, 1563.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

^r Dec. 27, 1561.—Dom. Corr. St. P. Off.

tress, acting with her accustomed independence, and inherited sense of high prerogative, was “abrigging the diets,” or curtailing the emoluments of her servants, both at home and abroad. Without further insisting upon this, however,—except to notice, in passing, that Sir William Cecil declared of himself, that during twenty-six years of Queen Elizabeth’s reign he had not “been beneficed” so much as he had been during the short space of four years under King Edward,—it may suffice to call the reader’s attention to the curious proof contained in the preceding letter, of the insufficiency of the salaries of the English ambassadors resident at foreign courts at this period of our history : for *this* is the right inference to be drawn from the disclosures relative to Throckmorton, Smith, and Chamberlayne ; and not that those Worthies were either imprudent or extravagant. It is quite remarkable to see what begging letters Sir William Pickering, and indeed all our statesmen employed on foreign missions about this period, were in the constant habit of sending home : their salaries did not by any means enable them to meet their necessary expenses, and they were compelled to incur debts. The Earl of Worcester’s journey into France in 1572 was delayed, because Queen Elizabeth could not be brought to assent to his salary of 6*l.* per diem ;

although she herself declared to Sir Thomas Smith, "I hear say he hath sold an hundred marks a-year land, and his wife is almost out of her witts for sorrowe."^a Dr. Valentine Dale wrote thus to Secretary Walsingham in 1574:—"I am much beholden unto you for your furtherance in my allowance, and I pray you, *per amicitiam tuam*, to be careful of me therein. *I do begin to run deeply on the score already.*"^b Even Lord Montague, when he went into Flanders in 1566 to settle our differences with that country, wrote to Cecil,—“I beseeche you, Sir, procure me the payment of my dietts, *which shall not come (be you sure) before I nede itt.*”^c The secretary addressed Sir Thomas Smith, in 1563, as follows:—"For your request to have your dietts payd by Sir Thomas Gresham, so it is in trowth that he hath not a penny of the Quene's in his hands; nor hath commission to take upp any, but hath due to hym *more than we be redy to paye*. I have moved her Majestie, as you required, to augment your dietts with *the odd fraction to make upp even crowns, but I cannot presently attayne it.*"^d—On the whole, therefore, Gresham is not by any means to be regarded as

^a Wright's Elizabeth and her Times, vol. i. p.450. ^b Ibid. p. 512.

^c Bruges, May 20, 1566.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

^d Feb. 7. Wright, &c. vol. i., p. 122.

indelicate or unreasonable, much less as singular, for remonstrating so openly with Cecil on the queen's treatment of him; and for so pointedly requesting the fulfilment of her promise that she would see him well rewarded for his services. No apology will be necessary for giving an extract from his petition to Elizabeth, alluded to in his letter to the secretary; although that document supplies us with little information to which we have not been made privy already. It is a strange circumstance, that there should exist in the State-Paper Office no less than *three* copies of this letter,—all three in the hand-writing of Sir Thomas Gresham, and of which two are furnished with an address. The third is endorsed "the coppie of my letter writtin to the Quene's Majestie."

The author of this petition was too experienced a courtier to write to Queen Elizabeth expressly on the subject of his grievances. He began by informing her majesty that he had arrived at Antwerp on the 29th of September; that he had been ever since busied with her affairs; and that he had succeeded in satisfying all her creditors, with the exception of Maurice Ranzom, and Paul Brocktorp. He then goes on to observe that in his last "Instructions," dated the 23rd of August, he found his "diets of xx s. a daie, being in England," abridged; a circumstance which, con-

sidering his five years of service, disquieted him much: "which allowance of xx s. a daie I have hadde yt allwayse allowid me, wheresoever I went; both in Kinge Edward's tyme your late brother, as allso of Quene Marie your late syster. Besydes, they gave me between them in rewarde of my servize three hondread powndes in landes a yeare, to me and my ayres for ever; most humbly beseching your Majestie as to lisencc me to geve yow to undirstand, that yow shall fynde that I have done your hightnes other manner of servize, both of greater importance and of greattir masse and charge, all manner of wayse, than I have done to your late brother and syster—put bothe their charge together. For that both their sums dyd amount to the sum of vii c lx m *lib.* (760,000*l.*), and your Majestie's charge alone dothe amownt to the some of viii c xxx m (830,000*l.*), as by my account shall more playnely apere to your Majestie. As also, this ys the xxiiijth jorney that I have tackin over the seas for your Majestie, sens your Highnes came to the crowen; and I thancke God that, heatherto, I have accomplished your Majestie's Instructiones and Commandement in all poyntes, whiche ys too longe mattirs to trowbill your Majestie withe all at this instant: and besides this, I am become lame in your Majesty's servize, and nowe waxe

olde. In consideration whereof, I trust that your Majestie will be no lesse benefyciall unto me than your late brother and sistere was; for so your Majestie dyd promes me, when I tocke this greate charge upon me: wherewith, as yet, I have no kind of waie molested your Majestie. Therefore, I shall most humblie beseche your Majestie as to pardone me that I am thus bolde to put yowe in remembrance hereof; and that it maie please yow to exsteand your royal gyfte of goodness upon me, as to your Majestie shall seme most convenient and meet. And thus I most humblie take my leve of yow; beseching the Lorde to gyve me the grace and fortewen that mye servize maie be allwaies axseptable to your highnes: as knowithe the Lorde, whoc preserve your nobill Majestie in helthe, and long to rayen over us, with increas of honnore. From Andwarpe, the iiird of October, a^o 1563.

By your Majestie's most humble, and
faithefull obedient subject,

THOMAS GRESHAM." *

The object of his journey to Antwerp being accomplished, the writer of these despatches lost no time in repairing home again. His letter to Cecil, just quoted, (of the same date as the preceding,) concludes with these words:—"As to-

* Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

morrowe, I doo make a bancket to all the Queene's Majestie's creadytters ; whome I doo inteande to make as good chere as I can. And as soon as I have gotten in the olde bandes, I wyll (God wyl-linge) make my repayre home along seas agayne." He had left England on the 25th of September, and he wrote the following account of his adventurous return, from his " pore howse at Intwood, the xvth of October, an^o 1563."

" Right honorable Sir,

" After my most humble commendacions,— it maye like yowe to undyrstand, that, as the vith of this preassant, I wrote yow my last from Andwarpe ; whearein I sent yow letters from Doctor Mownte, wiche he wrote me to send you in post with seurtie. The next daye, I tocke passage for Zelland, and as the viiith daie I arrivyd there aborde the Queene's Majestie's shipe callyed the Swallowe, wythe the governor and dyvers other merchants ; whereas we gave attempt to take the seyes, but the winde beinge contrary, we were fayen to cast angger xv mylles out of Zealland. Abought iiij of the clocke at nyght, we spyed three sayles, thynkyng to the captayen and to the master of our shipe they had byne Frenche men ; whereupon we maid all thinges in a redines to wythestand the enemy, and attendinge them, because they did all they colde to tacke the wynde

of us. Thanks be to God, it fell out that yt was the Quene's Majestie's Admerall, Sir Thomas Cotton, knight, and the barke of Bollen and the Fenixe,—wyche was no smalle comfortte unto us, consideringe what intelligens I had that the Swallow shuld be laid [wait] for. So that, the instant we hadd one hayled another, there rose up soche a great storme, that we were constrainyd to macke into Flussinge agayen ; whereas we dyd remayen till the xijth daie, at v of the clocke of nyght ; and then came the winde at Northe Easte, and so [we] departid. Sir Thomas Cotton seant the barch of Bollen with me, for my better waiftage ; and he and the other went to his charge agayen to the narowe seas, and dyd wayfte ovyr two of the Merchant-Adventurers' ships : assewring you, Sir, a ys a worthye genttilman and a valliaunt captayen, and wyse, and a man of great servize, and well deservythe. As allso, the Captayn Hanchawe of the Swallow ys a hanssome man, at whose handes I have hadd great intterteynment ; and [he] right well desservythe for his servize : for the wyche I gave unto the Quene's Majestie my most humble thanckes for her large warrant that her highness sent me.

“ Now, good Sir, it maye like you to understand, that as the xiiijth of this preasant I aryvyd, at Leastoo [Lowestoft] in Norfolke, and as the xiiijth

at my howse at Intwoode. And, for that I am some wayse sycke and sea-beatten, lyinge upon the seas these ix dayes, and not well at ease, (and glad to please my wife,) I have thought it my dewtye to advertyse yow of my aryvall ; and to know the Quene's Majestie's pleaseure and your's, whether I shall myselffe resort to the cowrte wythe the Quene's Majestie's olde bondes, or not."y

Gresham wrote another brief letter to Cecil, from Intwood, on the 10th of November, 1563 : in which he announced the necessity he was under of again repairing to Antwerp, in fulfilment of a promise he had made to the factor of Ranzom and Brocktorp : and recommending that a certain number of sovereigns should be bought in, to enable him to satisfy the demands of those unmanageable creditors, he proposed starting immediately on his errand. To save his friend time and trouble he appears to have himself drawn up "A remembrance for Sir Thomas Gresham," preserved among the State-Papers, in which he supplied the secretary with memoranda of all that he should require for his journey ; ending with, "A passport for me and my men, *and plate for my house.*" This document is dated the 24th of November ; but from the following letter, written on his arrival

y Intwood, Oct. 15, 1563.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

at Antwerp, it appears that he did not quit the shores of England till the 1st of January, 1563-4.*

“Right honorable Sir,

“After my humble comendacions,—it maye like you to undyrstand, that as the first of this preassant, at x of the clock at nyght, Sir Thomas Cotton and I, with iiij of the Quene’s Majestie’s shipes more, tocke the seayes at the lande’s ende; and aryved in Zealland the iind daie, at three of the clocke in the aftir-nowen. And, as the iiird daie, I aryvyd wythe my charge at Harowghte, and so carryd it ovyrland by waggon to Andwerp, and aryvyd there as the iiijth; whereas I have spacken withe the doer^a of Brocketrope and Rantzavii, who will reseve no bollione nor golde, but coin. It shall be put into the mynte with as moche spede as maie be. As this daie, I doo tacke my jornie to Breussells; and sens my comynge, I have lernyd wyche be the nobillemen that hold together against the Cardenall, and who holds withe the Cardenall: so that I

* His “Instructions” are to be found in Lansd. MS. no. clv. art. 305. “As for the great sums due in February next, you may well promise that if the French and we shall come to an accorde, we will pay the greater part thereof either in February, or by the end of March; but if we shall not accorde, then must we be constrained to pay the less: and yet we mean to pay every creditor some portion in February, or at the furthest in March.”

* An old word of frequent occurrence: evidently synonymous with *factor*.

have directid the Quene's letter to the Prince [of Orange,] and to them all accordingly. The coppye thereof, yow shall reseve herein inclosid.

"Here ys a proclamacyon come forthe that no Inglishe shipes shall layd here, as longe as there ys anny Duche shipes; as allso dyvers goodes defendyd [prohibited,] that none shall come into Inghland; as by the proclamation that Clowghe sent yowe by his last, your honnor shall further perseve. Wyche caussith the common pepill to thinke there will fall out some breche between us and this countrey, [than] wyche I thenke they meane nothings lesse; for here ys no provyssion of shippes, nor other thinges for warres. Whereunto I shall indever myselffe to undyrstond from tyme to tyme of there procidings, and advertize [you.]"^b

This brings us to the period at which the Low-Country troubles began more directly to affect England, by interfering with her commerce. I allude to direct interference on the part of the Duchess of Parma, regent for King Philip; her highness having prohibited by a public proclamation, dated the 28th of November, 1563, the importation into Flanders of English cloths and wools.^c The alleged occasion of its being issued was a dread of the plague, which for some time previous

^b To Sir W. C., Ant. Jan. 5, 1563-4.

^c A copy of this document is preserved among the State-Papers.

had been so rife in London ; but Wheeler, in his admirable "Treatise of Commerce," assigns as the real cause, an Act of Parliament passed some time before, which prohibited the importation of pins, knives, hats, girdles, ribands, and other small manufactures ready wrought, into England ; our own people, encouraged by some eminent merchants, among whom was Sir Thomas Gresham, having lately set up those manufactures at home. This may have been, and probably was, the immediate cause of the proclamation ; but the motive of it is to be sought yet deeper in the enmity long stifled, but never completely extinguished, between "the bragging Spaniard" and the Queen of England. In proof of this, it is to be observed, that, frequently before the issuing of this proclamation, there had been misunderstandings more or less significant between the two powers ; and not unfrequently encounters at sea, wherein it generally happened that the stronger party, whether Englishman or Spaniard, plundered the weaker, regardless of national consequences. Clough wrote as follows on the subject from Antwerp, in May 1565. "We have newse here, that there hath bene two shipps robbyd not far from the lande's ende, whereof ys moche ado made." His comment is more amusing than instructive : "I fere me, an yf order be nott

taken, (and *that* in tyme,) we shalle have more enemyse than shalle lyke us well ; for God will not soffer thys robbery to contynewe. But, as the olde saying ys, ‘there ronnyth moche watter by the myll that the millner knowyth not off;’ and so, I doutt owre offysers of Englande do many thyngs that comyth nott to the Quene’s Majestie’s ears, nor Master Secretary’s. And methinks there was a grette fault in Mr. Gonstone and Mast’ Wynter,^d to see hym [the pirate] so trymed with men and munysson : and to saye no thyng thereunto. For, as there ys a saying—‘all thyngs maye be changyd savyng nature, and all thyngs assuryd [against] savyng deth;’ and so by hym,—he that ys given to be a theffe cannott be trewe, nor wyll nott be trewe, as we have had the experyens of more than one : for I never knewe non in Englande that was pardonyd for robberyng, butt went to yt agayne.”^e

But as these events occurred only at distant intervals, it required some more consistent ground of complaint to warrant the inimical dispositions towards England which the court of Spain invariably manifested ; and it was accordingly advanced as a grievance, that the numerous Spaniards,

^d Benjamin Gunston was Treasurer of the Admiralty, and Sir William Winter, Vice-admiral of the navy.

^e To Sir T. G., Ant. May 20, 1565.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

resident in London, “complained that they were neither favourably heard in their complaints, nor had expedition of justice in their causes.” This was made a heavy ground of dissatisfaction, and the rumours which prevailed on the subject at Antwerp must have been of a serious character indeed, to draw from Richard Clough such words as these: “Here is suche talke of the ill yousage of owre offysers in Englande in generalle, that ytt grevyth my hart to hear ytt; and in all their ragys, yett they do commend the Quene’s Majestie, and saye that they knowe that ytt ys not her fault. Wherein, and yf I shulde wryte you what I hear and knowe to be trewe, I shulde nott only troubell you in the readyng, but greve your hart to hear ytt; wherfor I wyll leve yt out, because I knowe my letter cannot helpe the matter, and pray to God to sende remedy when he shall see tyme.”^f

There was unfortunately no Spanish ambassador resident at the time at the English court, to preserve amity between the two nations; and the effect of the recent proclamation upon commerce being of the most serious character, it was evident that no time was to be lost in coming to some understanding with the regent. Accord-

^f R. C. to Sir T. G., Ant. Mar. 13, 1563-4.—Flanders Corr. St. P. Off.

ingly, having already addressed her highness a conciliatory letter, (in which he assured her that the utmost justice and kindness had been ever observed by Queen Elizabeth towards the subjects of the King of Spain,) Sir William Cecil furnished Dr. Valentine Dale, a few days after, with a sheet of Instructions to guide him in his negotiation at the court of the duchess. The rough draft, in the hand-writing of the secretary, is preserved among the State-Papers, and bears date the 27th of December, 1563.

Circumstantial and curious are the directions with which Dr. Dale,—a keen politician, and well versed in the intrigues of the Spanish court,—hastened on his embassy into Flanders. His first object, of course, was to make it appear that the Spaniards were, and had been, fairly treated in England: and next, to remonstrate with the regent on the injustice of her proclamation. This subject is discussed towards the close of the document; and Cecil exposes the falseness of the motive assigned for that obnoxious proceeding, by showing that no impediment had been raised by the duchess to the transportation of cloth from London to Antwerp by the subjects of the Low Countries, at the time when the plague was raging in London with most violence: and that now, it was a great hardship that the English

merchants should be prohibited from carrying their cloths into Flanders before Candlemas; inasmuch as, having been accustomed for so many years to bring them at Christmas to Bruges for sale, they had already shipped them with that object. Cecil concluded by observing, that this proclamation would in the end prove most injurious to the Low Countries,—though he was evidently impressed with a contrary conviction. Dale, however, was “not to give any signification that we wish to have it altered: but only to let them know that we thynk, though presently some members of our merchants shall fele some incommodity, yet they shall shortly recover it, and percase shall be glad to have had this occasion given to them.”

Gresham foretold that the ambassador would experience no ordinary difficulty in speeding with his errand,—so numerous and so loud were the complaints which awaited him: but the inhabitants of Antwerp, he said, were sorry for the stay of our cloths and other merchandise, from which they would suffer more than even themselves expected; “the poor,” he adds, “cry out already.” In a letter dated the week previous, he had written as follows to Sir William Cecil: “the Lordes of this town of Andwerpe, as this daye, seant me a presant of wyne, of the vallew of xl s.,—dessiring me that I wolde be their meyne to the Quene’s

Majestie to be good to their towen, as her ansistors hathe beene heretofore: and wherein they cold do her Majestie anny servize, they were at her Majestie's commandement, to the utmost of their powre. And as this is the first pressent that ever I had of this town, so I have thought good to advertize you thereof; assewring you, what brags so ever they have made, or intend to make, they meane nothing less than to fall out with the Quene's Majestie :"^{*} but in this, the writer must be understood to refer to 'the lords of the town' in contradistinction to the civic authorities,—the magistrates as well as the citizens of Antwerp; for it is evident from his subsequent letters, no less than from the general correspondence of the period, that all these were fully alive to the inconvenience they were likely to experience from the rashness of their rulers, and made no secret of the extent to which they disliked their measures.

The regent's next step was to prohibit the exportation to England of the merchandise which had been shipped before the uttering of her memorable proclamation, and on which the customs had been paid. Gresham says that he had supposed "that such goods as be deffyndyd for Ingland, being shipped *afore* the proclamation, should pass; which proves untrue, for she will

^{*} Ant. Jan. 10, 1563-4.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

not let pass nothing."^h He also sent Cecil a copy of "the supplication put up to the Regent, (10th Jan.) and her answhere, (11th Jan. 1563-4,) with the note of all the goods that were shipped."

According to our friend Clough, Dr. Dale met with a favourable reception. On the 26th of January, he wrote thus to Sir Thomas Gresham: "The Imbassador at Brussels was very honorably yoused. Hys lodging [was] appoyntyed by the Regentt hyrselfe, fast by the courtt, and [he] had audyens the next daye after that he came: beyng feched to the court by the Stewarde of [the] Howseholde to the Regent, and xii other gentyllmen. At hys meetyng with the Regent, [he was] very gentlyly yoused,—both of her, and all the other nobellmen, and counselors; and at hys first meeting, [he] delivered the Queene's letters, with her comendasyons, in Frenche. And after the Regent had read them, he made his message in Lattin, allmost one houre long; which was very well lykyd of all men. So that, in fyne, he was very well yoused."ⁱ

This account is confirmed by Dale himself, who, writing on the same day (the 26th of January) from Brussels, states that he was prospering in his business. The Duchess of Parma, nevertheless,

^h Jan. 16, 1563-4.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

ⁱ Ant. Jan. 26, 1563-4.—Ibid.

on the 27th, addressed her letters to the ‘Margrave, Burgoyses, and Counsaile of the Towne of Antwerp,’^{*} apprizing them that the same causes were in operation as heretofore; and that she could not, in consequence, permit the importation of cloth and wool from England till next Easter. Clough, in his usual graphic manner, gives a lively picture of the disturbed state of Antwerp on this occasion; and in the following passage, which refers to the last-mentioned prohibition, shows how unpalatable it was likely to be to the commons of Antwerp. “I have thought good to wryte your mastersheppe thys moche, because you may geve Master Secretarye to understand of their procedings here, weche ys very strange; and not strange neither, for that as they have allwayse bene holohartyd frynds, so are they now, and so wee shalle be sure to fynde them. And by so far as that wee do make any other reconnyng of them, we shalle be dyssevyd; although possybelly som make there reconnyng to the contrary. Syns the begynnyng of thys my letter, I have lernyd that ytt shall nott be proclamyd,—weder ytt be that the Lords of the towne dare nott, or wyll not do ytt. Wherein they do well; for, sure, ytt ys moche

^{*} Fland. Corr. St. P. Off. There is among the State-Papers a French copy of the letter, besides an English translation.

to be douttyd of an Insurrecyon within the towne; and that, out of hande: for here ys syche mysery within thys towne, that the lyke hathe nott bene sene. Allmost every nyght, howsys [are] broken up and robbyd: and thys nyght last past, nott wethstandyng the watche, there came about xvi or xx in a company to a corne-seller's howse, by the newe brow-howsys; and rane att hys dore, as they dyd att the dore where the lottery was. But the dore was so strong, that they colde not breke ytt; and the man of the house havyng vi pystoletts redy chargyd in his chamber, shotte 3 of them att the theves, butt all myssyd. As allso the wyffe of the howsse, openyng one of the windose to have lokyd att them, they shott 3 or 4 dags¹ att hyr; but as good luck was, [they] myssyd [her.] Butt when ytt shalle be knowyn abroad thatt thys ys come from the court, I do moche doutt of grett trowbells that maye chanse here; and that, out of hande."^m

This further edict seems to have been the occasion why, in the month of January, Mr. John Sheres was sent to the Duchess of Parma; with Instructions very nearly resembling those with which Dale had been furnished, a month previous.

¹ A dag was a species of hand-gun.

^m Clough to Sir T. G., Ant. Jan. 31, 1563-4.—Flanders Corr. St. P. Off.

· As this was the beginning of the misunderstanding between England and Flanders,—which led eventually to the removal of the seat of commerce from the latter country, and produced a complete revolution in the trade of both kingdoms,—it will not be improper to narrate here the substance of the Instructions with which Sheres was supplied; premising only, that the words between brackets are interlineations or corrections in the handwriting of Secretary Cecil.

The document begins by recapitulating the history of the breach with Flanders, from the issuing of the edict in November, to the date borne by the document itself,—January 20th, 1563–4. That edict had been followed in the succeeding month by a more general prohibition, “that no manner of stuffe (whereof certen handicraft wares) should be carried out of ours into that country; nor any merchandize or goods should be laden in any part of the country in any English ship, (if there were a ship belonging to our good brother’s subjects in those parts,) on pain of confiscation, and forfeiture of money. Notwithstanding all our plain manner of proceeding,” adds the writer, “we now perceive that the prohibition has been extended from Candlemas to Easter.” It was clear that nothing could have dictated such a proceeding, but a

hostile disposition towards England, inasmuch as the Spaniards enjoyed the same liberty as heretofore, and continued their imports and exports without molestation : and Sheres was accordingly sent for the express purpose of pointedly testifying the dissatisfaction of the English government at the proceedings of the duchess; and to propose, in accordance with what had been agreed in England with the Spanish secretary, De la Torre, that a diet of commissioners should be appointed to discuss the question, and bring it, if possible, to an amicable issue. The document proceeds: "on that parte it is alledged [for pretence] that we have also of late, (that is to saye, this yere past,) made two lawes in our parlement: by the one whereof we do prohibitt a certain kind of [merchandizes] made by handy craftsmen, to be brought into our realme; and by the other, we do ordein that if any of our [owne] subjects shall lade any merchandize in any vessel whereof our subjects are not owners, they shall paye [the] more custom. Which two late lawes are noted by them there, not only new, but against the treatyes; whereof, if [good] prooffe were made, the contrary wold appeare,—being both, in substance, ancient lawes in our realme, and but [now] revived: and the later [being] made only [ageynst] our owne subjects, which no parte of

the treaty doth prohibitt us tō doo. Yet, to show ourselves conformable to have ~~this entrecourse~~ of both our people mayntained, we can be content to have it agreed on both our partes, that these two lawes of ours whereof complaint is made, shal be putt in suspence until the [end of the next dyett;] so as, reciprocquely, the other late prohibitions made there [since the begynning of November last] in those contreys,—the one for our cloth and wool, the other made in December last, having many prohibitions in it,—may be in lyke manner respectively dissolved or suspendyd for the same time: and that the contents of [all] the same prohibitions, [as well on our parte as theirs,] with all other generall greefes and complaints on other parte, may be, by the said diett, ordered, reformed, or compounded." If this were "taken well," Sheres was instructed to press for the mention of a day when the suspension of the prohibitions on both sides might be published in England and in Flanders. If, on the contrary, he found the parties with whom he had to treat intractable, he was to declare plainly that he perceived the regent did not wish for amity; and that the English merchants, much against their inclinations, "would be obliged to think or devise some other means than this, that had been so ancient and meet for both countries. And yet, if

they shall refuse, we have no great dowte but so to provide for our subjects as they shall not fynde that lack hereof, that percase is there looked for. [And herein," adds Cecil in his own hand, "may ye saye (if they shall object that our subjects cannot forbear those contreys, or if they shall demand of you *ironice* whether we meane to have a trade at Embden, or Hamburgh,) that to what placees our merchants will or shall goo with ther clothes, yow know not ; but well you ar assured that our merchants make a full accompt that the comodities of our countrys ar of that nature, that wheresoever they shall be carryed, they will well mayntean a mart. And you may add, that although you have no comission so to say, yet, you know that the intention of a great number of merchants is, rather to goo with their commodities to some other place, than thyther ; and that the stey of them to contynew in those contries cometh pryncipally of us, that are no wise disposed to change the intercour, except we shall be constrayned by their doings there."]^a

It seems probable, from a passage in the preceding document, that to this date is to be referred a memorial which Clough addressed to Sir Thomas Gresham respecting the future prospects of the merchant-adventurers, and the most proper

^a Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

place to serve them henceforward as a mart for their commodities. Embden and Hamburg seem to have been the only ports of northern Europe which were considered as eligible ; and the whole of Clough's memorial is in consequence devoted to the discussion of their comparative merits,—a question which he divided and subdivided until he covered twenty-five sides of paper. The result was, that the writer disapproved of both towns, for which he gives some whimsical reasons ; stating, that he considered Hull and York as far more convenient and desirable localities. One of the inconveniencies of Embden, he remarked, was, that “ the people of the towne are rude both in worde and deede, not meete to interteyne merchants ; and not *that* only, but also withowte order of beleefe, not fearing God nor the devell, maynteyners of Anabaptists, Libertines, and all other kynde of damnable sects, withowte any reverence to God : as it is well to be seen by their churches ; for that in one place they preache, and in other place of the churche there lyeth feathers, netts, and barrells, with dyvers other unseemely things, not fitt to be sett in those places.” Hamburg, he considered unsafe, “ under the Emperor as they saye, upon themselves ; but not so upon themselves, that they are able to withstand (by estimacion) the power of a prince, if

they were put thereunto." Besides which, the inhabitants were a "kind of people rude, and nothing inclyned to our nature; envious and beggerley both of goods and wyttys; incivill in manners, and withowte all mercie where they are masters."° As this paper is found among the Cottonian MSS., it is probable that Sir Thomas Gresham laid Clough's scheme before the secretary; but it is needless to remark that his suggestion in favour of Hull and York was not acted upon.

While Dr. Valentine Dale and "John Sheres, gentleman," were thus prosecuting the object of their mission in Flanders, Queen Elizabeth forbade the importation of Low-Country merchandise into her dominions: and in the course of the spring, the Flemings began to feel all the hardships which the rashness of their rulers had brought upon them. The magistrates of Antwerp wrote to Cecil on the 27th of May, entreating him to use all his influence with the queen to procure the re-establishment of a free intercourse between the two countries as of old, promising that, for their own parts, they would spare no exertion,—"*nusquam ex parte nostrâ deerimus, et nullum non movebimus lapidem,*"^p—to procure a

° Cott. MS. Galba. B. xi. fol. 264.

^p Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

similar grace at the hands of the Catholic king, and the regent. Cecil replied with his usual address:—I am “solicited,” he said, “to intermeddle in that which I know very well was by some disorders of private merchants brought to the hand and order of the prince on both partes:” he showed them that their request was unreasonable, inasmuch as on the 30th of May a yet severer edict had been uttered by their nation against the English, from whom they now desired that an amicable measure should proceed: “so,” he ends, “with some grief of mind I conclude that the remedy of these evils must grow from whom the occasions of the evils first came.”^a But this did not satisfy the parties he addressed, for they repeated their application on the 30th of June, declaring that they could not understand his inability to assist them: to which he replied, that since according to their statement this had been done by princes, and not by private persons, the restitution of the former state of things must proceed from princes likewise.^r On the same day “Monseigneur Thomas Gressen, Chev’, agent de la Ma^{te} de la Roynie d’Angleterre,” was addressed by the same body in much the same terms; but, as might be expected, his reply is not recorded. It is evident that he submitted the epistle to his

^a June 7, 1564.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

^r July 11.—Ibid.

friend Cecil, by its being preserved among the State-Papers of the period.

The negotiation of the ambassadors was protracted throughout the summer : for it is not till the 30th of November, 1564, that we meet with a “ Coppie of the accord betwixt the Quene’s Majestie, and the Regent of the Low Countries for fre intercourse.”[•] By this, it was agreed, that for the adjustment of all existing difficulties between the countries, there should be held in Flanders a “ Colloquium ;” to consist respectively of a knight of the garter and a knight of the order of the golden fleece, one of the privy-council of either sovereign, and a civilian. These individuals were to meet at Bruges ; and in the mean time all impediments to commerce were to be removed, and free intercourse restored between the countries. But while this negotiation had been proceeding, the English merchant-adventurers, who could not afford to be idle, had made trial of Embden, in East-Friesland, as a mart for their commodities, by sending their cloth-fleet thither, about Easter, 1564.[†] Thus did the ties which had seemed to bind the English so fast to Antwerp, begin to be dissolved : and something of our national independence shown, which in after years was so distinctly asserted and established.

• July 11.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

† Stowe’s Chronicle, ed. 1614, p. 656.

In consequence of the arrangement just recorded, so agreeable to all parties,—but especially to the Flemings, who, says Wheeler, “could not forego so profitable a milch-cow as the English trade had been to them,”—it became the object of the citizens of Antwerp and Bruges to procure the immediate return of the merchant-adventurers. The magistrates of Bruges, in the beginning of December 1564, prayed that the English company would come and establish themselves in their city, or at least continue to hold their fairs there, as they had been formerly accustomed; and Count Egmont, in whose province, and consequently under whose government the town of Bruges was, seconded their application by writing strongly to Sir William Cecil in their behalf.* Antwerp, however, which had stronger claims, preferred the same suit, and addressed both the secretary and Sir Thomas Gresham repeatedly on the subject. There exists among the archives of the latter city the minute of one letter in particular, in wretched French, addressed to Gresham on the 29th of December, together with that merchant’s autograph reply; which, as it completely

* Count Egmont’s letter, dated Dec. 2, 1564; the minute of Cecil’s immediate answer; and the letter from the town of Bruges, dated Dec. 4, are preserved among the Flanders Correspondence, St. P. Off.

embodies the substance of the epistle by which it was occasioned, besides supplying us with a specimen of the manner in which he wrote the French language, shall be here subjoined in its original orthography :—

“ Messrs.

“ J'ay reçu, entre plusieurs autres de voz lettres qu'il vous a pleu m'escripre, celles du 29^e de Decembre dernier ; et pour responce, selon la bonne affection que j'ay tousjours portée envers votre ville, et la requeste que y m'avez faicte, j'ay tant travaillé envers le Gouverneur * et Compaignye de noz marchantz, (avec la faveur et ayde de Mons^r le secretaire Cecille—qui de tous les S^{rs} due conseil s'est monstré le plus affectionné à vous faire plaisir,) qu'ilz sont resoluz par ung commun

* Mr. John Marsh; or, as he invariably spells his name, *Mershe*. He probably succeeded Mr. Hussey as governor of the fellowship in London; and has been already mentioned by Gresham, (vol. i. p. 288,) to whom he was related: having married his cousin Alice, the daughter of William Gresham. Marsh left a son John, and other children, whose names are not specified in his will, which is nuncupative, and was proved Jan. 28th, 1579. —Bakon. quire ii. His crest was a lion's head, langued, crased. Several of his letters are preserved among the State-Papers; and there is one dated 1569, addressed to ' Mr. Marsh, dwelling in Coleman-street;' the writer of which, Roger Edwards, was author of ' A Booke of very godly Psalmes and Prayers,'—alluded to apparently, by himself, in another letter, written at the commencement of the year, and preserved among the same archives.

accord, desja faict et arresté entre eulx en leur court, de se transporter, si tost quil leur sera possible, avec leurs marchandizes, à vostre ville d'Anvers ; pour y faire leur residence come en temps passé, et selon l'accord faict entre leur Maj^{tie} de la Royne notre Zouveraine Dame, et du roy d'Espaigne ; espérant qu'ilz y trouveront telle faveur que requierent leurs privileges, et m'avez promis en vos dictes lettres. Et quant à la singulière faveur qui vous a esté jcy monstrée en cest affaire par le dict S^r Cecille, ce porteur* vous le scaura declairer plus particulièrement ; parquay n'ay

* Andrew Van Hindersom, whom the magistrates of Antwerp had sent over to communicate with Cecil and Gresham. The letter he sent to his employers (written in Flemish) bearing date the 8th of January, has been obligingly communicated to me by the same gentleman to whom I am indebted for the letter in the text. Van Hindersom rather anticipates the contents of Gresham's letter by stating, that on the day previous, he had been invited to the house of "Ridtsaert Cloedt, the factor of Master Toomas Gresseem," where there was a great company, and where he had learned the favourable intentions of the merchants with regard to Antwerp. He says,—“ In the evening, as I also was invited there, [Gresham] rehearsed the matter more fully unto me, . . . and showed very hearty good-will in this business ; having, with the secretary Cecille, sent for the principal persons of the nation. On the morrow, as I have written to your worships, the court will be held, and it will be then considered what answer shall be returned to your worships' letter : having received the same, I shall transport myself with all possible diligence unto your worships. The commissioner from Brugge has his answer, and will depart to-morrow.”

voulu vous en tenir jcy autre propos. Et ainsi, me recommandant tousjours à voz bonnes graces, je prie Dieu, Messrs. vous vouloir donner le comble de tous voz bons desirs. Escript à Londres, le xi^e jour de Janvier, 1564 [-5].

De vos S^{ries} très affectionné amy, et prest
à vous faire plaisir et service,

THOMAS GRESHAM."

"à Messrs.

Messrs. les Bourg^mrs, Eschevins
et Conseil de la Ville d'Anvers." y

With the exception of this correspondence, we have no intelligence respecting the progress of affairs at the court of the regent, until we meet with a paper bearing the following promising title : " A memoriall of the matters to be intreated at the colloquie to be holden at Bruges betwixt the commissioners of her Majestie ; that is, the Viscount Montague, Mr. Doctor Wotton, one of her Majestie's privie counsell, and Mr. Haddon, of Requests, on the one parte ; and the commissioners of the King of Spaine on the other. Made at

From the archives of the city of Antwerp, deposited in the Hôtel de Ville, Salle No. 2, Littera G. Layette " Engelschenatie." The letter is indorsed " R^{te} die xvij Januarii, 1564 [-5] horā circiter xij meridianam." I am indebted for the transcript to the courtesy of the learned archivist of Antwerp, M. Frédéric Verachter.

Westminster, the xith of March, 1564 [-5,] in the viith yeere of her Majestie's Raign." *

These, then, were the statesmen appointed by Queen Elizabeth, or, to speak more truly, by Sir William Cecil, to protect the interests of England at the approaching conference, and represent her wisdom. They were certainly eminently deserving of the high trust committed to them, enjoying, as they all three did, high characters and the reputation of first-rate abilities. Anthony Browne, first Viscount Montague, who a few years before had been raised to the peerage and created a knight of the garter, had had considerable experience as a diplomatist at the court of Madrid. He was, says Camden, "a man of singular wisdom, but most devoted to the Romish religion, and one that in that respect would be the more welcome to the Spaniards." It is only on account of his superior rank, however, that his name stands foremost on the present occasion; for Wotton and Haddon were very much his superiors as statesmen.

Walter Haddon was celebrated as a lawyer, orator, and poet, and according to his epitaph was "*eloquentiæ sui temporis facilè princeps.*" He had been chosen vice-chancellor of the university of Cambridge, and made president of Magdalen

* A MS. covering fifteen sides of paper.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

College in Oxford ; where such was his reputation for wisdom and probity, that Queen Elizabeth appointed him Master of Requests, and employed him in many foreign embassies. Of him it was that she warily and wittily replied, being asked whether she preferred him or Buchanan for learning : *Buchananum omnibus antepono, Haddonum nemini postpono.*—Haddon's name is frequently associated with that of Dr. Wotton, but Wotton far surpassed him in all the requisites of an ambassador. The latter was, in fact, a very extraordinary person : bred in his youth a doctor of civil law at Oxford, he discovered early in life such a genius for foreign negotiation, that Henry VIII. employed him in several missions of the highest importance, both to Charles V. and Francis I. Wotton was also appointed first dean of Canterbury and York, and lived to decline the archbishopric of the former see. Having been chosen by four successive monarchs to be their privy-counsellor, he was by them employed on thirteen several occasions in embassies to foreign princes ; and as a statesman, was accounted inferior only to Sir William Cecil. "Others," says Lloyd, "were trusted with the interest of princes ; he, with that of nations. He that saw him, would think he could deny nothing,—so modest and scholar-like his looks ! He that heard him, would judge he

would grant nothing,—so undeniable his reason, so irrefragable his arguments ! His speech was as ready, as his resolution was present. His apprehension quick and clear : his method exact : his reading vast and indefatigable : his memory tenacious : his elocution copious and flowing.” Though now nearly seventy years of age, and full of infirmities, his capacity for business remained unimpaired ; and the opinion entertained of his abilities was such, that his services could not be dispensed with on an occasion like the present,—the last on which he was destined to serve his country.

In addition to the official letter which these ambassadors transmitted conjointly to the council from time to time, subscribed with their three names, Dr. Wotton sent the secretary a private letter by almost every opportunity ; in which, as might be expected, far more curious information is usually to be found than in the less confidential communications of the trio. Lord Montague occasionally did the same, but his letters are not to be compared to Wotton’s. It is not my intention to trespass on the reader’s patience much longer with this subject ; but Wotton’s first letter, in which he gives an account of the journey into Flanders, is too characteristic to be omitted. It is impossible to peruse it without a smile.

“ Sir, .

“ I trust yow will have me excusyd that I tooke not my leave of yow. The very truth is, that I went twyse yn one daye to the Corte porposelye therefore, and yet was not my lucke so goode as to have eny tyme to talke with yow; and I was so pressid to departe, forbicause I entendid to tarye iii or iiij dayes at Cantorbery, that I had no leysure to retorne to the Corte agayen.

“ My Lord Montague laye but one night yn Cantorbery, which was the Frydaye night, and the next daye rode to Dover,—so litle cawse he had to lyke the simple lodginge and poore fare that I was able to make him. The next daye, (beinge Sondag,) yn th’ afternoon, I followid him: but neither that night, nor the next daye nor night, cowde we gette owte of Dover haven. But on Tuesdaye, yn th’ afternoon, much contrary to my desire, we embarkid; and my Lord had such goodelucke that he landyd by six a clocke or therabowte, though abowte ii myles from Dunkerke,—which waye he was fayne to go a foote. But it was ii or iii howres after, ere I landid; and the night beinge then darke, and I withowt guyde, as lustye a footemane as I am, I am sure that of those ii myles I made a-foote vi myles ere I came to Dunkerke: the which journey, I assure

yow, was more paynefull to me than yow cowde well beleeve, and *my gowtye toes and feete are the worse for it yet.*

“The next daye, when the maister of my shippe came for his money, I told my men I wold by no meanes speake with him, for feare least I shuld forgette his name; for I imputid all the fawte to him. But (thankes be to God,) my Lorde, Mr. Haddon, and I, and all our trayne, came saufe to Dunkerke, and this daye ar come to Newporte; trustinge, God willinge, to be tomorrowe at Brugis: from whence, as occasion shall serve, yow shall be certyfyed. The meane season, God preserve you longe yn helth and prosperitie. From Newporte, the xxith of Marche, 1564-[5].

Yours at commandment,

N. WOTTON.”^a

Sheres, writing to the secretary a few days after, gives an account of the landing and progress of the commissioners, who arrived at their place of destination on the 24th of March. He relates, that “as they stayid in eche place by the way, they were presentyd with wyne at the townys chargis.”^b Leaving them, however, awhile at Bruges, we will now return to Sir Thomas Gresham, who has been almost lost sight

^a To Sir W. Cecil.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

^b Bruges, March 25, 1565.—Ibid.

of, in tracing the events which influenced so materially his future life and actions. The writer has the less scrupled to enter somewhat minutely into this subject, because it possesses considerable historical interest; and it is presumed that the events here recorded, are to be found only casually alluded to elsewhere.

Gresham's periods of residence in the Low Countries were now much shorter than formerly. In previous years, Antwerp had been his place of abode, and he had only made periodical excursions to London; but now, he made England his home, and only visited Antwerp when he was compelled by urgent business to do so. His last journey had been commenced as already stated on new-year's day 1564, in company with Sir Thomas Cotton; and he had returned home before the end of January; having probably seen enough during his brief absence to make him anxious to quit a city so unsettled and unsafe as—to judge from the glimpse afforded us in the letter from which an extract is about to be given,—Antwerp must at that time have been. “As this daie, an Inglishe man (who hathe fayned his name to be Martyn, and his right name is Welche) who dyd comytte a great robberye in Inglonde x monthes past, came behynde another Inglishe man upon the Inglishe bursse, (whose name is Wright,)

and gave hym three great strockes withe his dagger upon his heade,—fearing he shall never escape it. The said Wright sent for my servant Thomas Downton, and gave hym to understand [that] as I was a man unacquainted unto hym, and [he] hearing moche good of me, [he wished] to warne me to looke well to my selfe and to my howse; for that Martyn, with dyvers other of our nacion, had determyned to have robbyd me ere this tyme, if he would have consenttyd thereunto. So that, for consyence and dewtie's sake, he dyd send for him to open this matter. And [Wright] further sayd, that the said Martyn rails at large with uncomely wordes of our soverayen. Sir, this Martyn hathe takyn the Fryers for his save-garde. I will do with the Margrave what I canne to shutte hym up, and to bolte [sift] out this pretenssed robberye; for there ys soche notable robberyes done of late in cittez, as the like was never heard of,—by fortye in a companye.”^c

This was written from Antwerp on the 16th of January; and on the 22nd, Gresham wrote again to Sir William Cecil from Dunkirk, where he was expecting, (to quote his usual phrase,) “to be waifted over” by Sir Thomas Cotton,

^c Sir T. G. to Sir W. C., Ant. Jan. 16, 1563-4.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off. George Martyn had been a servant in the families of the Earls of Leicester and Warwick. Among the State-Papers (dated June 10, 1563,) is his ‘confession touching the practise for him to have killed the Prince of Orange.’

whom he had requested to send round a ship for his accommodation ; and, alarmed lest the French king should take advantage of the unsettled position of this country with respect to Flanders, to make a descent on the English coast, Gresham earnestly counselled the secretary to be prepared against such an occurrence, and to take the necessary measures to prevent a successful invasion. " Sir," he says, " as I do not doubt if there be anny such practises, you have longe ere this tyme better advice owght of France than I can give you from hens,—it were good to looke well to the Isle of Sheppey, and to Quyneborrowe Castell, and to the Queene's Majestie's ships that lye at Chattam, in tyme ; as allso to Dover, and all other partes thereabowghts ; and spesially to Porthemowthe and to the Isle of Whight ; for thes be the plassis [where] they have allwayes [been] most desirus to lande." Spain was another quarter from which an attack might be expected : " therefore, it were good that the Queene's Majestie should be in a redynes with her ships, whatsoever chaunse of this bissones ; as allso to trayen up some of our men to the hande-gun and pistolate, throughoute all her realme : that it maye appere to all prinssis she provides for her enne-mys ; which can do no hurt, but good."^d On the day following, having obtained recent intelligence

^d Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

which confirmed his worst suspicions, and led him to believe that nothing less than an invasion was hourly to be expected, he reminds Cecil that “it were good to foresee the Queene’s Majestie’s ships that lye at Chattam, for fere of bornyng or stealling awaye ; *for there ys but v pieces of ordinaunce that lyes at the bullwarks to defend them,* besides those that be in the ships.”

At the beginning of the letter last quoted, the writer observed that he was still waiting at Dunkirk for Sir Thomas Cotton ; but the postscript bears date “from Dover, 24th of January,” and states that at six o’clock on the previous evening, the master of the ship which had brought over the Spanish secretary De la Torre, came to him and showed that the wind was then fair for the foreland of England ; in consequence of which, he had taken his passage at eight o’clock, (notwithstanding the risk of meeting French pirates at sea,) and had reached Dover on the following afternoon.

Once more arrived in his native country, one expects to find Gresham’s letters dated from Intwood, as on a former occasion ; but this is no longer the case. The first letter of his, in existence, written after his return, is dated “frome my powre dowffe housse at Oystreley, the last of Janyver, 1563,”[4] ;—being a few lines to the

secretary,—scrawled so hastily as to be scarcely legible ; announcing letters from Richard Clough and Dr. Dale, and begging Cecil “to be good to Sir Thomas Lodge in his suit.”*

It is rather remarkable that Gresham, writing from Intwood-Hall in *August* 1563, should have assigned as the reason why he did not wait upon the secretary, his having “*no house to put his head in, but in London*, which he was loth to come in as yet,” considering how fiercely the plague was raging in the city at that time : for in the register of Heston parish, (wherein Osterley is situated,) as early as the month of April 1562, the interment of one of his servants—“Richardus Kirbit, famulus Domini Gresham”—is recorded ; a circumstance from which it seems fair to infer that he had already a residence at Osterley. There seems reason for believing, however, that by the term *London*, Gresham meant to denote *the city* ; in which he did not consider that Gresham-house, in Bishopsgate-street, stood : if so, it would follow that his mansion, which was certainly in progress of erection in August 1563, had not been rendered habitable by that time. Be this as it may, it is evident that in the beginning of 1564, if not at an earlier period, Intwood had been exchanged for a resi-

* Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

dence nearer the metropolis; and here his wife and he generally lived ever after, dividing their time, as it would seem, between the mansion-house in Bishopsgate-street, and their pleasant residence ten miles out of town. There prevails a tradition in Norfolk, that Lady Gresham was the cause of the desertion of Intwood. It is said that she found the place so dull, and so ill adapted to her taste, that in order to disgust her husband with it also, she caused a gigantic red brick barn to be erected immediately facing the back of the house, during one of his periodical journeys into Flanders. Absurd as the story sounds, the structure alluded to, (which is only now being finally removed,) certainly seems as old as the reign of Elizabeth; and when entire, must have presented so very unpicturesque an appearance, that it is scarcely credible that any one would have erected it in such a situation for his own pleasure, when so many more desirable localities abound in the immediate neighbourhood.

“Dowffe” is the Scotch word for *dull* or *melancholy*; a Frenchman would have said *triste*: but why Gresham applied such an epithet to Osterley, it is difficult to say; except indeed he used it with reference to the death of his only son Richard,—whom we are informed he lost in the year 1564, though the exact period of the young

man's death is not recorded, and no notice is taken of the event in his father's correspondence. This must have been a heavy calamity. The father had attained rank, wealth, and honours ; but at the moment when he had the prospect of reaping the fruit of all his cares, he was destined to see his fondest hopes blighted by the death of his only son, Richard Gresham, who must have been between sixteen and twenty years of age. He was buried in St. Helen's church, close to his father's house ; and from the period of his death, Sir Thomas appears to have entertained higher views for the disposition of his wealth, and to have cherished the idea of employing it for the public benefit. But the bereavement must have been long and severely felt ; and if we might be allowed to speculate on the subject, we would suggest, that as every state of prosperity and seeming happiness has some drawback, and few men are without some source of enduring anxiety or regret, that in the instance of Sir Thomas Gresham, *this* was the event to which he must have habitually looked back with sorrow ;—which must have cast the broadest shadow over his declining years ;—and which, perhaps, even counterbalanced, in his estimation, the splendid results of a life of enterprise and ability.

The same events which rendered Flanders a

disagreeable place of residence to Gresham, rendered it, as might be expected, no less unpleasant to Clough; who seems by this time to have desired retirement, and whose heart evidently yearned with fondness towards his father-land, as if incapable of picturing to itself an Elysium elsewhere. "Other I have not to moleast you withall," writes Gresham to Sir William Cecil from his "powre dowffe house, the 2nd day of March, 1563" [-4], "but, this mornyng, I have ressevid letters from my factor, Cloughe, of the xxiiijth and xxvijth of the last, (with one letter to the Queene's Majestie from Mr. Challoner, and two to you, wiche it may please you to resseve here with inclossid :) whom haith writtyn unto me to be a sewter unto you, as to helpe hym to a lease for xxj yeres of serteyn landes of the Quene's Majestie's lying in Wales, of the yerely vallew of xxvij *li.* by yere. Wherein I shall most humbly dessire your honnor to be good unto hym, for that he hathe right well deservid; having served under me in this charge this xij yeres, very paynfully and onneastly." And Clough, a few days after, reminds Gresham of his wishes: "desyring your Mastersheppe to be a menes for me to Master Secretary for my sute; for ytt must be *he* that must hellpe me, for ells I loke not to spede: wherein I can do no more butt

praye unto God for his helthe and long lyfe, and that wee have more suche as he ys to rule over us.”^s The lands for which Clough was a suitor, were doubtless the same which we find granted to him in the course of the year 1564 :^h how strongly he felt the influence of the *natale solum*, at the period when he made application for them, will appear in the sequel.

It was stated a few pages back, on the authority of an ancient chronicler, that Sir Thomas Gresham lost his only son in the year 1564. This fact, which, taken singly, possesses nothing beyond a certain degree of painful interest, in the writer’s opinion is to be viewed in connexion with that act of the bereaved parent on which his subsequent fame may be considered chiefly to rest,—whether justly or not, the reader is able to decide. Allusion is made to the founding of the Royal Exchange, which was projected in the year 1564, though the laying of the first stone did not occur until two years later. This fact is derived from the minutes of the Court of Aldermen ;*

^s Ant. March 13, 1563–4.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

^h See Jones’s Index to the Records, &c. fol. — “ Concessio in Com. Carnavoniæ, Flint, Nottinghamiæ, and Buckingham, &c. 4 pars, original. anno 6. Rot. 84.

* The writer has reason to believe, that certain extracts from these minutes, at present in the course of publication by the Gresham Committee, are eminently calculated to throw light on

wherein it is stated, that on the 4th of January, 1564-5, a proposal was made to the court by Sir Thomas Gresham, (through his servant Anthony Strynger,) that a Burse or Exchange should be built in London at his expense for the accommodation of merchants, provided a site was found on which the edifice might be conveniently erected. I cannot but think that this spirited proposal was the result, in a measure, of the domestic calamity which its author had just before experienced ; and that he sought by this means both to employ usefully a portion of the wealth which he must then have regarded as a superfluous acquisition ; and to divert the melancholy which the bereavement itself was so naturally calculated to inspire.

The want of such a building was at that time severely felt in London. Hitherto, Lombard-street had been used for this purpose : and here “ the merchants and tradesmen, as well English

the early history of the Exchange. It is with much mortification that he is obliged to state, that his efforts to obtain a sight of those documents proved unsuccessful ; and that he is obliged to go to press with the present pages before the documents alluded to appear in a printed form. For the statements in the text, derived from this source, the writer has to offer his acknowledgments to Richard Lambert Jones, Esq. Chairman of the Committee, whose obliging communications are distinguished by an asterisk. He is enabled to state, on the same authority, that the documents in question contain no personal notices whatsoever of Sir Thomas Gresham.

as strangers, for their generall making of bargaines, contracts, and commerce, did usually meete twice every day,"—at noon, and in the evening: "but their meetings were unpleasant and troublesome, by reason of walking and talking in an open narrow streete, being there constrained either to endure all extremities of weather, viz. heat and cold, snow and raine; or else to shelter themselves in shoppes."ⁱ

A scene somewhat resembling this, is to be witnessed at the present day in many parts of the city. In Mincing-lane, for instance, a certain class of the commercial community are in the habit of daily assembling in the open air; 'the lane' being to them, what 'the street' was to their ancestors. "How the Exchange passeth in Lombarde-streete," is a phrase of frequent recurrence in Sir Thomas Gresham's early letters; as well as the words "every streete," which require no explanation.

At how remote a period this locality acquired its name is not known; but we are informed that Edward the Second, in 1318 or 19, "confirmed a messuage sometime belonging to Robert Turke, abutting on Lombard-street towards the south, and towards Cornhill on the north, for the merchants of Florence; which proveth that street to

ⁱ Stowe's Chronicle. ed. 1631, p. 668.

have had the name of Lombard-street before the reign of Edward the Second :” that is to say, its antiquity is carried back as far as the close of the thirteenth century ; at which period it was a place of resort for foreign merchants.^k It was so called from the Italian traders who first settled in this metropolis, and probably made that street their favourite haunt : for, with the same laxity of expression that the term ‘ Indians ’ is used by ourselves at the present day, our ancestors, by the general appellation of *Lombards*, designated the merchants of the four republics of Genoa, Lucca, Florence, and Venice. These early traffickers succeeded and supplanted the Jews as money-dealers ; having obtained a footing in this country as agents for such of the Italian clergy as enjoyed benefices in England. The latter were unable to draw the produce of their livings without the intervention of the Lombards ; who, sometimes in specie, and sometimes in wool, made their remittances. Far oftener, however, this was done by bills of exchange : and from this small beginning arose the gigantic trade, whose incalculable results now surround us on every side. The con-

^k In the year 1296, Pope Boniface III. recommended to Edward the First’s protection certain merchants of Lucca coming over. (*Fædera*, vol. ii. p. 705.) These were Lombards. Anderson says they came out of Italy before 1274, (vol. i. p. 406.)

nexion with Rome just glanced at, will suffice to explain the meaning of the following passage in Stowe; who gives us to understand that the customary 'feat of merchandise' was not exclusively performed in Lombard-street. "As the merchants," says he, "met here for traffick, so the Pope's merchants also chaffered here for their commodities; and had good markets for their Wafer-cakes sanctified at Rome, their Pardons, &c. For so I read in an old book printed an. 1545: 'This *fine flour* have they made the chiefest of all their trish-trash. I pray thee, gentle reader, were not his *Pardoners*, merchants to them? Yea, it is well known that their *Pardons*, and other of their trumpery, hath been bought and sold in Lombard-street as thou wilt buy and sell a horse in Smithfield.'"¹

We are told that as early as the year 1534 or 5, the practice of assembling here had been found inconvenient, and that the citizens had frequently deliberated in common-council on the propriety of transferring their place of resort to some more convenient locality. By royal letters addressed to them in the same year, Leadenhall had been proposed as a building adapted to their purpose; but whether from attachment to the street, (in and about which it is probable that many of the

¹ Survey, ed. 1720. vol. i. b. ii. p. 151.

principal merchants resided,) or from that proneness to resist innovation, even in a small matter, which, fortunately, does not yet seem altogether extinct among us,—from whatever motive, the proposal was rejected by a show of hands. Nor was Sir Richard Gresham more successful, four years after, in accomplishing his spirited scheme for the public benefit; though he wisely attended to the prejudices of his fellow-citizens, and proposed to erect his ‘goodely Bursse’ in the very spot which had hitherto been the scene of their meetings. In truth, it rarely falls to the lot of those who first devise any great project, to live to see their plans carried into execution.

The time for the erection of a Burse had, however, at last arrived: the merchants and citizens, says Stowe, “had already had many thoughts and counsels” on the subject,—being, doubtless, most powerfully moved thereto, by the necessity which had now become apparent of taking some such decided step, in consequence of the immense number of merchant-strangers, whom the troubles in the Low Countries and in France had driven to London: and when Sir Thomas Gresham came forward with the munificent offer to defray the expenses of the building, provided a site was found to build upon, a subscription was readily entered into for the purpose, and the ground

on which the Exchange now stands was conveyed to him.

Out of respect to the chronicler who showed the greatest partiality to the city of London by preserving the memory of its antiquities, and recording the names and actions of its worthies, the brief narrative which he has left of the preceding occurrences shall be here inserted: reserving for a subsequent page the details which it would be improper to produce, until the progress of our story suggests their insertion.

In the year 1566, says Stowe,^m "certaine houses upon Cornhill, and the like upon the backe thereof, in the warde of Brodestreete, with three allies, the first called Swan-alley opening into Cornhill; the second called New-alley, passing through, out of Cornhill into Brodestreete warde, even against S. Bartilmew Lane; the third called S. Christopher's alley, opening into Brodestrette warde, and into S. Christopher's parrish; conteyning, in all, foure score householders,—were first purchased by the citizens of London for more than 3,532*l.*,

^m Survey, ed. 1754, i. 475.—The Ironmongers' Company subscribed 75*l.* towards the purchasing of the site. This was in 1565. [Herbert's History, &c. i. 121.] In Stowe's Chronicle, (ed. 1631, p. 668,) it is stated, that "upon good advice, the citizens of London bought divers times houses and small tenements in Cornhill, and pulled them downe, and made the ground faire and plaine to build upon; the charges whereof cost them above 5000*l.*"

and were solde for 478*l.* to such persons as shoulde take them down, and carrie the stuffe from thence. Also the ground, or plot, was made plaine at the charges of the citie, and then possession thereof was by certaine aldermen, in name of the whole citizens, given to Sir Thomas Gresham, Knight, Agent to the Queene's highnesse, thereupon to builde a burse, or place for merchants to assemble in, at his own proper charges: and hee on the seventh of June laying the first stone of the foundation, being bricke, accompanied with some aldermen, every of them laid a piece of gold; which the workemen tooke up, and forthwith followed upon the same with such diligence, that by the moneth of November in the year 1567, the same was covered with slate, and shortly after fully finished."

Such is the chronicler's brief account of the erection of the Burse or Exchange. Other events, prior in order of date, if not superior in interest, claim precedence of the history of this structure: but before dismissing it, it may be stated on the authority of the documents already alluded to,* that the amount paid for the ground on which the Burse arose, was 3737*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.*: that it was subscribed, in small sums, by about 750 citizens, all of whose names are recorded; forming as interesting a list of civic worthies as could well be

desired : that the subscription commenced in March 1565, and terminated in October 1566 : and that the purchase of the ground took place in the month of September of the last-named year.

The negotiation which, when the affairs of Flanders were last alluded to, was pending between that country and our own, had in the mean time been brought to a close. Lord Montague, Wotton, and Haddon had arrived at Bruges on the 24th of March 1564-5, and immediately devoted themselves to the object of their mission. They drew up in Latin, and presented to the commissioners of the Catholic king, a little book stating the grievances of the English merchants ; which were comprised under thirty-six heads.* Having obtained answers on all these points, they at length, with considerable difficulty, persuaded the other commissioners to imitate their example, and state in writing the complaints of the subjects of King Philip ; for the Flemings insisted at all times on verbal discussion, which annoyed our countrymen extremely, and made Wotton write to Cecil,—“ I see very little hope that any good is lyke to be donne here at this tyme.”†

* March 28th, 1565.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off. It is a MS. of fourteen pages.

† April 10th.—Ibid. Among the State-Papers of this period, besides several others of the same description, is preserved a document which Cecil has endorsed, “ 1565. Responsio ad Quærelas p̄positas per Catholicū Regem, &c. pro Anglis, xi Ap̄lis.”

It is quite evident, that although the regent had acquiesced in the propriety of this conference, there existed no wish whatever on her side to bring the national differences to an amicable adjustment. Endless, on the contrary, were the obstacles raised by her representatives to all that our countrymen proposed of a conciliatory tendency.^p Old English laws, and usages which had been sanctioned by the practice of many generations, were represented as injuries to be redressed; and made the subject of complaint accordingly. Indeed, the object of the other party seems to have been, (how much opposition it would encounter they well knew,) to procure the repeal of every law which put the stranger on a footing at all inferior to the English merchant; and as it was evidently suspected by the council that the admission of a free trade would have been attended by a considerable diminution of the revenue, the royal assent was invariably refused to any serious infringement of the established laws on this subject.^q Twenty-nine lengthy grievances of this character form the subject of a

^p Wotton to Cecil, May 11, 1565.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

^q Three-pence in the pound, had always been required by government of strangers, in all payments. They also paid 3s. 7d. over and above the duty on cloths which English merchants paid. (The Queen to the Commissaries, Aug. 28, 1565.—Ibid.) In August, 1565, the merchant-adventurers agreed that the

Latin MS. sent to the council by the queen's commissioners in the month of May.[†] They were accompanied by thirty additional "articles of griefs;" in which, complaint was made of events which had occurred previous even to the reign of Queen Mary; and shortly after, we find "A specification of general unwarrantable depredations, and seizures of ships, goods, and merchandise of the English," of which the Spaniards require restitution.*

With men so disposed, there was little reasonable expectation of a satisfactory issue to the conference; but Queen Elizabeth was prepared for large concessions; and such was the opinion entertained of the importance of Flanders to the trade of the merchant-adventurers, that every thing which could be reasonably expected of her, she empowered her ambassadors to grant. Such anxiety "to come to some accord" was in fact evinced by the council in their letters,[†] that Wotton declared himself "filled with perplexitie;" fearing lest the hostile commissioners should take

Flemish merchants ("the said subjects being naturall borne in the Low Countries") should, in the following year, ship as many cloths as they had been annually accustomed for ten years past, on paying to the Fellowship 2*s.* 6*d.* on every short cloth. Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

† May 20.—Ibid. • May 27.—Ibid.

* The Queen to the Commissaries, Aug. 3, and 28.—Ibid.

advantage of their position, "and looke yet bigger than they do."*

In the month of May, the same writer, oppressed with age and infirmity, had petitioned Cecil as follows: "Sir, when we shal have done heere, fayne wold I prove the baynes [baths] by Aken, ere I came home: trusting to fynde sume ease there of these my frendes, that love me so well that they never forsake me, winter nor summer,—I meane the catharre and the cough; for whome, as well as they love me, (yea, and for the gowte too, and certeyn other diseases wherewith I am usid to be troubledde now and then,) I trust I might fynde sume remedye or helpe there. I pray you therfor, to be an intercessor

* Bruges, Sept. 4, 1565.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off. It is evident that nothing was neglected by our countrymen to soothe the irritated feelings of the nation with which they had to deal. They forwarded petitions from the fishermen of Newport, Dunkirk, and Ostend: (Sept. 2,) on one occasion they actually wrote a letter to the council for the purpose of recommending an old woman to their protection: and at the Baron de Montigny's request, Wotton obtained the release of one Peter Wallett from prison, (May 9). They procured a licence for the town of Bruges to receive 2000 quarters of wheat from England: Dunkirk, by their mediation, obtained similar relief; and finally, Antwerp was allowed to purchase 12,000 quarters of grain of Sir Thomas Gresham; whose contract with "Jacques de Wesenbeke," (agent for the last-named city,) is preserved among the archives of Antwerp, and has been kindly communicated to the writer by the learned archivist of that city,—M. Verachter.

for me to the Queene's Majestye, to gyve me leave for a competent tyme so to do : not that I meane to putt her Majestie to eny charge for my diettes during the sayde tyme ; but shal be content that the daye of my retourne to her Highnesse's presence be taken to be that self daye that my Lord Montagu and Mr. Haddon shall retourne to her presence. I do requyre also my Lord of Leycester to be a suyter to her Majestie for me yn this behalfe ; so that I must needes thinke my lucke very harde, yf I shuld not obtayne my request. Thus Jesu preserve you long yn helthe and prosperitie. From Brugis, the xith of May, *qui est mihi natalis*, 1565.

Your honor's at comandment,

N. WOTTON."*

How little chance of success he had in making such an application, he did not know till the month of September ; when, the conference having been protracted for nearly six months, he found to his great alarm that it was contemplated to recall Lord Montague, and leave Walter Haddon and himself to conclude the treaty alone. The prospect of passing the winter in Flanders, suffering, and far from his friends, was so distressing to him, that he immediately sent a written remonstrance to the secretary. With

characteristic sagacity he promised entire deference to the queen's wishes, but urged at the same time a motive for his recall, which he well knew would have more weight with the queen and her chief counsellor than all the arguments he could employ. " Sir, where it seemith the Queene's Majestie is myndidde that Mr. Haddon and I shulde remayne heere to ende this treatye of the staple now requyridde,—surely, as long as I shal be hable to sturre, I will never refuse to do the best servise I can, in enything that it shall please her Majestie to apoynte me to. Marry, yet wer it goode her Highness wer putte in remembrance, that when the colde wether comith once on, nether shall I (by all lykelihode) be hable to sturre, nor to do her Majestie eny service at all; no, nor to retourne home tyll April nexte, though I wolde never so fayne. So that, to lye heere all the winter at her Highness' chargis, and do her litle service or none,—wer to litle purpose; besydes the disease and discomodity which I shuld feele by my taryng heere. For, as it is comenly sayde, '*home is homelye*;' which at all tymes is trew, and chiefly yn tyme of sicknesse. And now do I the more feare the danger of this winter, for that I have now lost the comodity (as it seemith by this wether heere) of going to the Spa for this yere; wher I trustid to have

fownde great helpe, and so to have prepared my bodye, and made it so stronge, as every blaste of wynde shulde not have overthrowne it.”^x

Shortly after the date of this letter, the conference was by mutual consent suspended ; and Queen Elizabeth having sanctioned the return of the embassy, on the 29th of September was drawn up the “Protestation and prorogation of the treaty of intercourse of the 15th of March, 1565-6.”^y

The government of Flanders suffered the interval to pass unimproved, as if regardless of the ultimate issue of a conference so speedily to be resumed : but it was far otherwise in England. With the same anxiety which, from the most early period of our history, the government has testified to protect the trading interest of the country, consultations were repeatedly held on the steps to be pursued when the commissioners should re-assemble. It may suffice to notice three questions proposed to the merchant-adventurers, which they answered before the lords of the council. “First, what maye ensue by traffic without intercourse ? Secondly, th’ incommodities that maye ensue by equality of custom ?—Thirdly, howe the commo-

^x Bruges, Sept. 4.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

^y Ibid. See also, the letter of the Commissioners to Cecil, Sept. 4, 1565.—Ib.

dities of the realme maye be uttered, out of the Lowe Countries?"^a The merchants' answers to these three questions exist among the State-Papers; and were such as made the council anxious "to come," if possible, as the phrase was, "to some friendly accord." In the mean time, the half-year expired; and the following Easter found the English embassy at Bruges, according to agreement, awaiting the arrival of the other commissioners.

They met with a different reception on landing, from what they had experienced in the preceding year. No presents of wine,—no hospitable messages as before, welcomed their return to Bruges: and what was worst of all, no commissioners made their appearance.^a The only intelligence Lord Montague had it in his power to send Cecil was, the rumour that the Baron De Montigny, (brother of the celebrated Philip de Montmorency, Count de Horn,)—who at the previous conference had been one of the three commissioners on the part of the Spanish king, and had acted in a friendly manner towards Montague and his colleagues,—was going to be sent into Spain.^b At the end of about a fortnight, Mons. D'Assingcourt, (who supplied

^a Nov. 29, 1565.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

^a The three to the Council, April 14, (Easter-day), 1566.—Ib.

^b To Cecil. "Bruges, April 15th, very late."—Ibid.

the place of De Montigny,) with the two other commissioners arrived, and professed themselves eager "to apply all diligens" to bring the negotiation to a close. This was on the 2nd of May, 1566. As at the previous conference, however, they utterly refused "to put all the articles used in this treaty in a book;" but asked, instead, for "the Queene's Majestie's resolution touching the four great matters of *Pondaige*, *Custume* of clothes, *Lycences* for unwrought clothes, and the *Custume* of woollles."^c It was thus at every meeting; and when the weighty questions just alluded to, were not the subject of discussion, "Secretary Torros" (on the part of the rival commissioners) "brought a miserable complaynt with him of certeyn Hollanders spoyled and hurte in the Thames' mouth by Englishmen."^d

Thus occupied, our ambassadors saw about two months pass away; and the object of the embassy seemed as far as ever from being attained. The Spanish commissioners persisted in referring every difficult question to the decision of the regent,

^c The three to the Council, May 5.—On the same day they wrote a private letter to Cecil, lamenting the death of that able statesman Sir John Mason, of which the tidings had just reached them. "We are very sorry," they said, "that the comon-welth shall misse such a good servant as Sir John Mason was; but we must all yelde to Godd's provydens."—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

^d The same, May 13.—Ibid.

whose answer never made its appearance. Other occasions of delay also arose to impede our countrymen. Wotton was suddenly taken ill, and became so much enfeebled, that, as he wrote to the secretary, his usefulness was materially impaired: "when I speake, men have ynough ado to understande me."* Lord Montague complained that they had all been indisposed: "Dr. Wotton," he said, "speaketh very small;—Mr. Haddon also is not in best health; and *for an evil stomach*, I will compare with the worst of theyrs."† The new member of the opposite commission also, constituted, in himself, a great obstacle: "Mons' D'Assingcourt, who occupiyth De Montignye's room," said Wotton, "is a good playne gentleman, whom D'Assonvill rulith even at his pleasure; which he could not do with Mons' De Montigny. And therefore ar we now in so much the worse cace; for that De Montigny, now and then, when he perceyved D'Assonville to *singe owte of tune*, would make him hold his peace, whether he would or not,—whome now no manne can rule. And yet, yf I shall say to yow as I thinke, I do not utterly yet despayre but that some agreement may be fownde emonge

* Bruges, May 20.—Ibid. In the same letter, Dr. Wotton congratulates Cœil on his recovery from sickness.

† Same date.—Ibid.

us.”^g—Notwithstanding these impediments, it was at last agreed that a book should be drawn up on both sides illustrative of the state of the question : showing what progress had been made in adjusting mutual differences ; and exposing the topics on which it had been found impossible to come to an agreement. The preparation of the book delivered in by our representatives, had left them, they said, “ no leisure to breathe ;” adding, that the task would have overcome them but for the exertions of Dr. William Aubrey, a celebrated lawyer, who belonged to their suite, and had throughout proved of the greatest service.^h He attended on behalf of the merchant-adventurers ; and was probably one of the fittest persons which that body could have selected to represent them, and protect their interests ; for he had been elected Regius Professor of Civil Law in the University of Oxford, in 1553 ; and is mentioned as ‘ Master of the Chancery, and of Bequests, to Queen Elizabeth.’ On the breaking up of the former conference, in 1565, Dr. Wotton wrote so pleasant a letter to Sir William Cecil in behalf of this person, that room must be found for it here.

^g To Cecil, May 26.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

^h The three to the Council, June 10.—Ibid. There is preserved among the Flanders Correspondence a Latin letter from him to the Earl of Leicester, dated April 1566.—Ibid.

“ Sir,

“ This bearer, Mr. Awbery, retornith now home; whome, I assure you, we might by no meanes have spared for the Queene's Majestie's service,—havige had so meny busye maters, and specially of law, yn hand: and the other commissioners' labours and traveyle beinge relevyd by so meny other learnyd men. Although I had some knowledge of Mr. Awbery before this journey, (*as of one who, now and then, was content to take parte of a peece of beefe with me*); and that by such communication as I then had with him, I perceyved well the man to be learnyd,—yet had I nothingsuch knowledge of him as I have had now: havinge had dyvers goode occasion to trye his witte and his learninge. So that now, I may bouldlye testifye of him, that for his witte, learninge, discrecion, diligence, and paynefulness, he deserveth any greate comendacion; and, as I verily thinke, [he] will answer to any greate expectacion. And therefore, whensoever her Majestie shall have neede of such servantes, I take it, her highnesse shall fynde very few meeter for it than this man is. Whereof I thought meete to certifye yow; not onely for that his service might be knowne to yow, but also that by yow, (yf yow thinke it so goode,) his rare qualities and vertues may be knowne to her Majestie.

“ Of our owne matters, both our common letters, and this berar, Mr. Awbery, can largely instruct you. And thus, Jesus preserve your honor yn helthe and prosperyte. From Brugis, the xxvith of Septembre, 1565.

Yours at comandement,

N. WOTTON.”ⁱ

To conclude: on the 10th of June the three English commissioners declared, that they had reached a point in their negotiation beyond which they found it impossible to proceed, and that their differences must now be referred to their respective governments for adjustment; and on the 17th they announced to the Lords of the Council, that by mutual consent the colloquy had been suspended. In the mean time it was agreed between both parties, that all things should remain in their actual position; that the treaty for free intercourse between both countries, should be considered as still in force; and that the merchant-strangers settled in either country should be considerately and kindly treated by the governments under which they respectively lived. “ We did with good words easily agree to this offer,” observe our countrymen in their last joint letter to the council; “ [it] being, as we thought, very con-

ⁱ Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

formable to her Majestie's pleasure. And therefore we entred further talk, that for the due conclusion of the said agreement we should, (as we had done the last year,) on both parts, draw an instrument in writing; to be agreed upon and sealed by us, according to our former meaning herein declared." It was further agreed between them, that in the event of this arrangement being objected to by their respective governments, forty days should be allowed the merchants wherein to withdraw their ships. "And now, the whole matter being brought thus far, as soon as this instrument of prorogation shall be agreed and sealed by us all, we understand they [the rival commissioners] will depart: we meaning to do the lyke, and (God willing) to take our journey to the Spaa, according to the lycense by her Majestie graunted unto us. And thus we most humbly take our leves, beseching Jesus longe to preserve your Lordeshippes in helthe and prosperitie. From Brugis, the xviith of June, 1566.

Your Lordeshippes ever at commandement,

ANTHONY MOUNTAGU. N. WOTTON.

WALTER HADDON."^k

^k Fland. Corr. St. P. Off. It must be superfluous to remark, that many interesting documents regarding this conference have been omitted, in order to keep it within reasonable bounds. The following brief letter to Cecil, which accompanied that last

Thus ended the conference ; and Wotton had at last the satisfaction of visiting the Spa : but before he left Bruges, he expressed to Sir William Cecil his surprise at the turn which affairs had taken. To the very last, he said, he had expected

quoted, and bears the same date, will not however be unacceptable :—

“ We geve yow our most harty thankes that so ofte in the middest of your businesse, and multitude of suters at home, yow ar contente to remembre your freendes beinge so farre off, with your courtuous letters.

“ It is marvell the Kinge in Scotlande shuld have such goode disposition to be abroode,—the Queene his wyfe beinge so neere her delyvery.

“ My Lorde of Bedforde, in our opinion, shall be well matched in all respectes. Newes heere is none on this syde, but that we ar (as we trust) well agreed ; though not in our principall maters of our service, yet for the manor of our departure, as shall appeere to yow more at large by our letters to the Lordes of the Counsell.—God send her Majestic a good and mery progresse ; and graunt yow some vacant tyme, and health that you may be the fitter to receyve her to your owne, and weyte upon her in the contrey. From Brugis, this xviith of June, 1566.

Your lovinge freendes,

ANTHONY MOUNTAGUE. N. WOTTON.

WALTER HADDON.”

Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.—How well does the opening passage of this letter correspond with the account of Cecil given at pp. 220 and 226 of the former volume !—It is, I think, worthy of observation, (and every one who has examined many of Cecil's papers must have made the same remark,) that his hand-writing is uniformly good and clear. It seems as if, whatever the extent of his occupations might be, he never suffered himself to be hurried.

that, although the commissioners "kept aloof," they would have ended by accepting the offers of the English; and could not imagine what had moved them not to do so. "Who can tell," he prophetically adds, "whether th' olde proverbe may be veryfyed in them,—'He that will not when he may,' &c."¹ This is the last but one of Wotton's letters, the date of which he survived exactly seven months. He died unmarried at his house in Warwick-lane, on the 25th of January, 1566-7; and was buried under a monument in Canterbury cathedral, near the tomb of the Black Prince.^m His character and actions have been severely criticised; but, I think, unjustly. A privy-counselor of Henry VIII., who was not materially enriched by the dissolution of the monasteries; and a dean of Canterbury, who refused to become Primate of all England when that dignity was offered him by Queen Elizabeth, is entitled to the respect and forbearance of posterity, and should not be rashly estimated.—In his person, Wotton was small and slender, but erect; and his face was full of intelligence. His constitution was good, and enabled him to attain a great age; but he was so

¹ Bruges, June 24.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off. The proverb is, "He that will not when he may, when he will, shall have *nay*."

^m See an interesting note in Lodge's Illustrations, vol. i. p. 337. The ensuing notices of Wotton are derived principally from his epitaph.

careful of his health, that he commonly ate food but once a-day. His mind was much addicted to books and learning, and he was particularly well skilled in the Latin, Italian, French, and Dutch languages; which, joined to his other qualifications, rendered him so useful to his country, that he was employed in thirteen missions to foreign princes. He was the fourth son of Sir Robert Wotton, of Bocton-Malherb,* in Kent; and consequently, great-uncle to that Sir Henry Wotton, whose life Izaak Walton wrote so beautifully a century later.

For aught we know to the contrary, Sir Thomas Gresham passed the years 1564 and 5 in England; during which period, besides some slight progress made towards the erection of the Burse, there occurs but one event in his history deserving of particular notice: namely, the death of his step-mother, in April or May, 1565. This was Isabella Worpfall, Sir Richard Gresham's second wife, and widow. She appointed her son, Sir Thomas, joint overseer of her will; and among other legacies bequeathed him "a counterpoint [counterpane] of fine imagery, with grasshoppers;" together with two carpets, one for his hall and the other for his parlour, worked with similar representations of the family crest." But we have

* Prerog. Office, Morrison. fol. xvi.—In an inventory of Henry

it in our power to record something more important than this, of Lady Isabélla Gresham. She resided in Milk-street, in the parish of St. Lawrence Jewry, and possessed five other messuages or tenements in Lad-lane; which, besides her own dwelling-house, she left to the Mercers' Company for charitable purposes. It was her wish that 9*l*. 10*s*., arising out of the rent of this property, should be annually distributed, in sums of about eighteen-pence each, among the poor householders of the parish wherein she lived, and the adjoining parishes of St. Mary Aldermanbury, and St. Leonard in Foster-lane; or in lieu of such sum of eighteen-pence, that one or more sacks of coals should be given. It was further ordained, that "such writings as should be made concerning the said good and charitable purpose, or the full effect thereof, should be openly read once every year in the Mercers' Hall to the said commonalty; to the intent that the true meaning of the said Dame Isabell might be better known and performed."

Let us inquire how the curators of this pious lady's charity discharged their trust. They col-

the Eighth's furniture, many 'counterpoyntes' are described, which illustrate the legacy in question. One of "verdures, with beasts and fowlys:"—"A nother with a griphon wroght in yt, and other beasts:"—"A nother of verdures, with a tree and two beasts in yt." (Cott. MS. Append. xxviii. l. 60.) Counterpanes were used for covering tables as well as beds.

lected the first yearly rental of her houses in 1566, when the whole property was found to amount in value to 14*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* per annum: out of which sum, agreeably to the will of the deceased, 9*l.* were equally divided among the three parishes before named; and 6*s.* 8*d.* and 3*s.* 4*d.* were respectively appropriated to the renter-warden and the clerk of the Mercers' Company. The house in Milk-street produced a yearly rental of 8*l.*, and the five houses in Lad-lane were severally let,—one for 1*l.*, one for 1*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*, and three for 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum. In nothing, however, has a more extraordinary change occurred than in the value of property within the city of London. *Three* houses at present occupy the site of Lady Gresham's ancient mansion in Milk-street; and six have arisen in Lad-lane, where, at the time of her death, there stood but five; the rents of which, in 1819, had increased to 902*l.* per annum!—"About the year 1745," say the commissioners for inquiring into the state of charities in England and Wales, "the affairs of the Mercers' Company were in a state of embarrassment, and several of their estates were vested, under the authority of certain acts of parliament, in trustees, for the payment of their creditors. *These houses were included in that settlement.*" °

° Fourth report, &c. vol. v. 1820. p. 116.

Such are the facts of the case, as stated in the printed report of the commissioners ;—facts on which the writer makes no comment, and does not presume to offer any opinion. But when the vast increase in the value of Lady Gresham's property is considered in connexion with the circumstance that 9*l.* in 1566 was about equivalent to 90*l.* in 1819, may it not be reasonably doubted whether her "*true meaning*" is fulfilled by the yearly payment of 9*l.* *at the present day*, to the poor parishioners for whom her benefaction was intended?

We may now recur to the Burse, or Exchange, in Cornhill; of which, as was stated in a preceding page, Sir Thomas Gresham laid the first stone on Friday, the 7th of June, 1566. The earliest notice of this undertaking to be met with in his correspondence, occurs about Easter, 1566,—nearly two months previous to the event last mentioned; from which it is evident that the original edifice cannot have been entirely of brick. "I have writtin for my factor Cloughe to come home these hollydaies. I will tomorrow geve my attendans upon you to knowe further your honor's pleasure; most humblie beseching you as to have in your remembrans to gett me leve of the Quene's Majestie to go into Norfolk for xx daies, for to loke to my thinges ther, and *to take order for my free-stone for my Burse.*"^p

^p To Sir W. C., London, Apr. 10th, 1566.—Fl. Corr. St. P. Off.

The following brief letter, written four months after the preceding, contains Gresham's next allusions to the progress of an edifice with which posterity has identified his name; but which, it will be perceived, occupied in truth but a small portion of his time and attention. It was addressed to Sir William Cecil from a house which Sir Thomas Gresham had inherited from his father, situated at Ringshall in Suffolk, not quite four miles distant, in a westerly direction, from Needham. What is discoverable concerning this residence, will be stated after the reader has been made acquainted with the contents of the following letter, —the only one in Gresham's hand-writing where any mention of Ringshall occurs.

“ Right honorable Sir,

“ After my most humble comendacions,—it maie like your honnor to understande that as the xiiith of this present I mette with my Lorde Keper^a at Sir Clement Hetham's^r house; whereas

^a Sir Nicholas Bacon, who married Lady Gresham's sister. His seat was Redgrave Hall, only two miles distant from Ringshall. In Gage's History of Hengrave, (p. 176,) is a letter from the owner of Hengrave, Sir Thomas Kytson the younger, to the Duke of Norfolk, in which he speaks of his accompanying Sir Clement Heigham and other gentlemen of the county, to meet the Lord Keeper between St. Edmund's Bury and Newmarket, in his progress to Redgrave.

^r Sir Clement Heigham, (or, as the name was sometimes anciently written, *Heitham*,) was, according to Montaigne, “ a po-

his Lordshipe sealed the Quene's Majestie's bonds, and so departid towards his howse at Sainte Tauburne's, [St. Alban's]. And beinge within xiiii mile of my howse of Rinxall, (*whereas I make all my provision for my timber for the Burse,*) I was so bolde [as] to make a starte to vewe the same : wher I did receave lettres from my servaunt Richard Cloughe of the iiijth of this presente ; which accordinge to mie most bounde dewtie, I have thought it good to send your honnor [that you may know] what occurraunces passethe. And so, tomorow, I intend to depart for London, whereas I trust to find in a redines the ii m li. which I promised to furnish the Quene's Majestie bie exchange, and so to make my repaire into Flanders withe all the expedition that I canne, for

tent knight in his generation ;" and the most conspicuous member of a family which ranked with the best gentry of Suffolk. He was knighted some time between 1553 and 1556, and obtains frequent notice in Queen Mary's Privy-council book ; having been appointed to many charges of trust during her reign,—which is probably the meaning of the statement on his tomb, that he was ' of Privy Counsayle with his Prynce.' To borrow from his epitaph, (which declares itself to be ' a true record,') Sir Clement was ' endued with great pregnancie of wit,' and with suitable powers of eloquence. He was a strict Roman Catholic, and a most loyal subject ; had been chosen Speaker of the House of Commons by Philip and Mary, during whose reign he had represented several boroughs in parliament ; and had enjoyed the office of Chief Baron of the Exchequer ; from which he conscientiously retired on Elizabeth's accession. He then resumed the duties of a country gen-

the accomplishment of her Highness' instructions. And thus, withe my most humble commendacions to the Erle of Leicester, and the Erle of Wormonde [Ormond] withe a carouse, I most humblie take my leve of youe. From my howse at Rinxall, in Suffolk; the thirteenth daie of August, anno 1566.

At your honnor's commandement,

THOMAS GRESHAM."*

This letter, it will be observed, was written when the Burse was in the earliest stage of its erection; and serves to confirm, in a very interesting manner, the prevailing tradition, that the timber used in its construction came from Battisford in Suffolk. The manor so called, (anciently known as the manor of St. John of Jerusalem),†

tleman, and justice of the peace for his county: conspicuous in the former character for his pious and benevolent conduct; and in the latter, for his humane disposition and his readiness to maintain a good understanding 'when quarells caus'd his neyghbours ofte from unitye to swerve.' Sir Clement resided at Barrow-Hall, a large brick building, moated, which was pulled down about a century ago: Gresham must therefore have been visiting him,

' In Barrow, where his dwelling was until his dying day;
Which was the nynth of March, since God a mortal man became,
The thousanth and five hundreth yeare, with seventy to the same.'
See Gage's admirable History and Antiquities of Suffolk, Thingoe Hundred, p. 12 to p. 22, *passim*.

* To Sir W. C.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

† The manor-house at Battisford, now called Battisford Hall, is built upon the site of the old Hospital of St. John. It was once

was granted at the dissolution of the monasteries to Sir Richard Gresham; and comprised a considerable portion of the parish of Ringshall. The estate descended to Sir Thomas, who, as we learn from the preceding letter, occasionally made Ringshall his residence: and very convenient he must have found it; since his house was within an hour's ride of Ipswich, whence he could at any time take ship for Flanders. This, in part, serves to explain how it happened that the treasure and stores he was commissioned to transport from Antwerp, were shipped sometimes to Ipswich, and sometimes to London,—the proximity of the former port to his own residence, and the convenience of water-carriage thence to the metropolis, rendering it scarcely less eligible as a port of destination than London itself.

Ringshall is separated from Battisford, by what is called *Battisford-Tye*,—a common, of above two-hundred acres in extent,—on the border of which it stands. This *Tye*, or common, was formerly thickly wooded, and here may be traced

a place of some magnitude, and on the plaster with which the walls are covered, the arms of its former proprietors may be distinguished; but there are no traces of the Greshams having ever resided there: neither does their name occur in the parish registers of Battisford or Ringshall, (otherwise written Ringesole or Rinxall.)—From the information of Mr. W. S. Fitch of Ipswich.

five or six saw-pits of about the usual size, at equal distances from each other, so marked in their shape and character as to preclude the possibility of any mistake as to their nature ; and according to the current tradition, they are the same which Gresham employed in the construction of the frame-work of his burse. The story has, it must be confessed, at first sight, rather an apocryphal air ; but there is nothing unreasonable, much less impossible, in the circumstance that some traces should still be discoverable of an undertaking, to ensure the successful performance of which, less preparations could not have been made : and the following entry in a MS. history of Suffolk families, written in 1665, goes far towards setting at rest the question of the identity of the pits at present visible, with those excavated by the subject of our narrative : “ Upon which Tye or Common [alluding to Gresham’s manor of Battisford] the Royal Exchange was framed ; *and the sawing-pitts remain there still.* And most, or at least a great part of the timber where-with the said Exchange was built, was taken off the now lands, belonging to the demesnes of the said mannor of St. John’s.”

The tradition that the frame-work of the Burse was constructed in the country, and then brought to the metropolis, was current in Heywood’s time ;

for he has an allusion to it, (not worth quoting,) in a play to be hereafter more particularly noticed. The timber can be proved to have been conveyed to London by water,—an operation which the proximity of the river Orwell rendered less inconvenient than it would otherwise have been; and it is far from improbable that Ipswich furnished the artisans who managed the framing; though, as we shall presently see, the works were under the guidance of a Flemish architect, and conducted by a Flemish carpenter.

One naturally feels some curiosity to ascertain whether any traces are discoverable of Gresham's "howse at Rinxall;" but it is rather difficult to ascertain the precise spot where this edifice stood. Near the church, there was formerly a building of Elizabethan construction, known as 'the Hall;' which was demolished in 1777, and of which at present nothing but a few beams remain.* Here, it would be very natural to suppose that Gresham wrote the foregoing letter; but there seems to be some reason for doubting the fact. On the further side of Ringshall, from Battisford, formerly stood a chapel, belonging to Hoxne priory; which, together with the adjoining tithes and thirty acres of the priory lands, were alienated to Sir

* It was occupied by Sir Thomas Barker, in the time of Charles the First.

Richard Gresham by William Castleton, the last prior, and first dean of Norwich. Adjoining to the old chapel, which Sir Thomas clearly possessed," is a field; and in it may be traced, throughout, the foundations of a large house. The moat remains, with ponds at each end of the north side; and a terrace-walk, from which the present owner digs his gravel: he also ploughs up a good gravel road on the side of the house leading to Bildestone and Ipswich. Such a house and such roads in the time of Elizabeth could have been the property of none but a man of large fortune; and it seems more probable that Gresham resided here, than at the Hall before mentioned. Of its external proportions no idea can now be formed, the original structure having long since disappeared: indeed it was the opinion of a late rector, whose ancestors had occupied Ringshall rectory ever since the year 1611, that the house had been taken down before that year.* But it seems time that we should proceed with our narrative.

* Of the united tithes of Ringshall church and chapel, with a large glebe, Robert Bossall became possessed as rector in 1572, on the presentation of Sir Thomas Gresham; who, in 1576, presented to the rectory William Cage. By him it was held till the year 1611.—Dame Elizabeth Gresham, in 1554, presented John Brown to Battisford Rectory; and in 1562 John Ling was presented to the same by Dame Isabella Gresham, step-mother of Sir Thomas.

* Communicated to Mr. Fitch by the Rev. Mr. Parker, the

No one can have compared the view of the Exchange in Cornhill with that of the Bourse at Antwerp, without being struck with the extraordinary resemblance which those edifices bore to one another. The proneness of men in all ages to follow precedent, and imitate an approved model, would be a sufficient explanation of this coincidence ; but it is still better explained by the fact, that a Flemish architect was employed by Sir Thomas Gresham to superintend the progress of his building. The Christian name of this individual nowhere transpires, though he is repeatedly mentioned in Clough's letters to his master : he is invariably termed ' Henryke,' as in the following passage in one of Clough's letters, dated the 22nd of July. " Towching the steves and other thyngs you wryte for, they are in hand, and shall be sent you as soone as they are done : beyng glad that you do so well lyke Henryke, and that your works go so well forwards. So that, when he comyth over, I wyll follow your order for the rest." From this, and other passages, it would ap-

present rector of Ringshall ; for which, both gentlemen have my thanks. A part of Gresham's estate is now the farm of Mr. W. Baker, proprietor and occupier. Adjoining to which is another portion belonging to the Bennetts ; and a drift-way—almost the only turf of the old Tye remaining—which leads to Mr. Bennett's farm-house, in the occupation of T. Death. Here it is that the saw-pits may be traced.

pear that the artist was in the habit of migrating from London to Antwerp, for the purpose of providing in the latter city the materials necessary for the prosecution of the work which he had in hand in London. "Henryke and his men arryved here, and the carpendere also, whom I do mene shortly to retourne,"^v says Clough, writing from Antwerp on the 4th of August, 1566.

But it was to the writer just quoted that the care of shipping, and not unfrequently of purchasing the materials for the Bourse, principally devolved; and it is quite surprising to perceive, from the incidental notices contained in his correspondence, to what an extent, at this period, an English edifice was indebted to continental artificers, not merely for its decorations, but for its most material features. One cannot help regretting that one of the numerous letters which it is certain that Gresham wrote to Clough about this period, enumerating the objects of which he stood in need, and describing the progress he was making, has not been preserved to us. This, however, was not to be expected; and Clough, very naturally, confines his replies to a general expression of pleasure at the satisfactory accounts his master continued to send him, and a promise that "the provision" ordered,—that is to say, the

^v To Sir T. G.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

architectural and other materials,—should be forwarded with the least possible delay. “And as touching your things belonging to the Burse, according to your last, they shall be provyded here, and sent away as soon as they shall be ready:”^a so concise in general are his remarks on this subject; on which we could have been content that he should have indulged his habitual prolixity.

In the beginning of December we meet with the following passages. “I have also received within that your letter, a letter that the Erle of Wormonde [Ormond] sent you; the order whereof I wyll follow, and wyll not fayle but to sende both the wainscot and the glass by the fyrst ship that shall depart for those parts. And for that he shall be well servyd of his wainscot, I do now send one to Amsterdam to provyde wainscot for the Bourse; who shall buy so much more: and that beyng done, I wyll choose out his 200 out of 1200, whereof he shall have the best. And for the glass, it shall be bought out of hande. Notwithstanding, I doubt there wyll no ship depart for those parts before March; but and if there do, and that I can by any meanes gett so much freight in them, they shall be sent with the first: whereof have you no doubt.”^a And

^a To the same, Nov. 24.—Ibid. ^a To the same, Dec. 1.—Ibid.

whereas you write me, so well as towching certain provision of howseholde, as also as towching the Bourse, you shall understande that I have shipped in Cornelys Jansone's sprette all such things as you wrote for ; whereof I have wrytten my fellow Candelor at large. *And as touching the Bourse, we do now begyn to shippe some part thereof ; and before Easter, we trust all shall be shipped from hence.*"^b

Accordingly, about the following Easter, that is to say, sometime in April 1567, John Worrall, one of Gresham's apprentices, wrote as follows to his master : " Richard Backer, your worship's man and his fellowe be here, ready to pass [in] these next ships for London ; wherefore, I mean to send them in one of *the shippes layden with stone for the Borsse*, for the which there ys three ships readie to departe from hence, as tomorrow, yf that the wynde serve them." ^c

Worrall appears as Gresham's correspondent, in consequence of Clough's absence from Antwerp ; the latter having left that city on a matrimonial excursion, of which it will be more proper to speak hereafter : suffice it for the present to state, that although requested by Gresham to remain in Flan-

^b To Sir T. G. Dec. 5.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

^c April 27, 1567.—Ibid. The letter is sealed with the writer's curious cypher ; represented in the wood-engraving prefixed to the Preface.

ders, until "he had dispatched all the provision of stone for the Burse, and hym that had tacken it in hand," Clough hastened into Wales on a more interesting errand. He returned to Antwerp, however, a married man, by the middle of May 1567. Meantime, the erection of the Burse went forward; and in the course of a few months sufficient progress had been made with the edifice to render it desirable to introduce the statues, which, up to the period of its destruction, formed a conspicuous part of its interior decoration. They seem, from the following passage in one of Clough's letters, to have been all made in England, with the exception of Queen Elizabeth's: some of the other statues having been sent to Antwerp, apparently for the purpose of showing the artist in what style, and of what size he was to produce the figure of her Majesty; which, by a natural act of courtiership, it was intended to make the principal object. "I have received the pictures you wryte of," says Clough, "whereof *I wyll cause the Queene's Majestie's to be made,* and wyll sende you the rest back againe with that, so soone as yt ys done."^d

About a month later, the edifice began to be slated. Clough writes: "And as touching *that*

^d August 17, 1567.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off. For this use of the word "picture," vide *infra*, p. 148.

you wolde have sayd to Henryke, I have so done; and he wyll make his provysion thereafter, and wyll come withall along seas: for he sayeth he wyll nott go over and leve the stones behynd him. And for the slates they shall be bought and sent you with the rest of the stuff.”* After a fortnight had elapsed, we read, “I do perceive by your letters, that the slates were not come from Dort, wherof I have marvell: so that I wyll send awaye the other that you wrote for, hoping that Henryk ys arrived with you long past, and all such stones as was lacking for the Bourse; and I do look daily for Mr. Secretary’s porte; which is promised to be here by Michaelmas-day.”† Elsewhere we find mention of iron bought for the Burse. In short, it is evident that nearly all the materials of

* Sept. 14.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

† Sept. 28.—Ibid. Holinshed has the following allusion to the source whence Gresham obtained the materials for his Burse. “In like maner, slate of sundrie colours is everie where in manor to be had, as is the flint and chalke, the shalder and the peble. Howbeit, for all this, we must fetch them still from farre; as did the Hull men their stones out of Iseland, wherewith they paved their towne for want of the like in England; or as *Sir Thomas Gresham did, when he bought the stones in Flanders wherewith he paved the Burse.* But as he will answer, peradventure, that he bargained for the whole mould and substance of his workemanship in Flanders: so the Hullanders, or Hull men will saie, how that stocke-fish is light lading, and therefore they did balasse their vessels with these Iseland stones, to keepe them from turning over in their so tedious a voiage.”—Chronicle, ed. 1807, vol. i. p. 395.

which that edifice was composed were brought from Flanders : and it is worth observing, that the date of the last passage in Clough's letters, where the slates for the Burse are mentioned, is October 1567, which corresponds very well with Stowe's narrative,—“by the month of November, in the year 1567, the same was covered with slate, and shortly after fully finished.”

While the operations which the last few pages have detailed were going forward in London, the troubles in the Low Countries reached a crisis. A long succession of aggravating causes, both from within and from without, had at first engendered a discontented, and finally confirmed an unruly spirit in the people : last of all the Inquisition had come to enrage all classes, and drive them almost into a state of rebellion. Once seriously excited, an angry populace is an engine which it is scarcely possible to reduce to a state of quiet without a catastrophe ; and when, in addition to political causes of irritation, the spirit of fanaticism is abroad, the attempt seems nearly hopeless.

The same base motive which is commonly seen at work in scenes of intestine commotion,—the cool lust of power in one, moulding to its vile purposes the headlong passions of the many, (as was the case a century later in our own country,)—

is not conspicuous in the history of the Low-Country troubles. It was, to take it in its general feature, the struggle of a highly civilized, enlightened, and luxurious people, against the oppressive acts of an encroaching and unpopular foreign government. The nobles urged them to the struggle ; and had all ranks acted in concert with promptitude and decision, the long-protracted disturbances which ensued might have been averted, and the people of Flanders satisfied : but nothing of the kind was attempted. The sudden and only partial movements which were made, were far from producing such a result ; while the swarm of vagabonds and bad characters of every description which had congregated on the frontiers, formed a population made up of the scum of surrounding nations,—ripe for revolt, not so much because they were injured, as because they were lawless ; and eager for confusion, because they had nothing to lose, and every thing to gain.

When it is considered that the state of things here glanced at materially affected Sir Thomas Gresham ; that they altogether occupied his attention at this period of his life ; and that they form the subject of almost every letter which Clough addressed to him,—it will not be deemed foreign to the subject, but rather the reverse, that the history of the period should be here entered into

with a little more minuteness. This would be necessary, were it merely for the sake of rendering Richard Clough's letters intelligible.

Eventful as the sixteenth century was in many points of view, for nothing was it more remarkable than for the religious crisis which it witnessed in England, in France, in Germany, and in the Low Countries. To stem the tide of reformation in the last-named state, the emperor, Charles V., had had recourse to the publication of rigorous edicts, known in history by the name of *Placcarts*.^s These were sometimes of a civil character, but their tendency was generally religious: they had been directed against the Anabaptists, and sectarians of every description, not omitting the followers of Calvin and Luther, whom they denounced in common with all the other enemies of the church of Rome. But edicts such as these were calculated to inspire terror rather than to enforce obedience; and to preserve the peace of the state, it had been found necessary to modify the severities which they prescribed, by subsequent enactments of a milder nature. They remained, nevertheless, in effect; and the people of Flanders preserved a galling sense of the obnoxious precedent, of which, in conformity

^s A Placcart,—of which there are several among the State Papers,—consisted of a printed sheet, folded; so as to form a little quarto book.

with the line of policy he had ever pursued towards them, they dreaded lest King Philip should avail himself, to encroach yet further upon their civil and religious liberties.

The recent introduction of the Inquisition into the provinces, more than any other event, had aggravated their natural aversion to the court of Spain, and rendered them unsettled and disloyal. Finally, the council of Trent, which had ended in 1563, was felt to have resulted in an additional grievance. It was admitted in the Low Countries two years later with reluctance, for it condemned more severely than ever all such as were not within the pale of the Romish church; and would have been yet more unfavourably received, had the people been aware that the kings of France and Spain, on this occasion, had formed a secret league to maintain the Roman Catholic faith inviolate in their respective dominions: mutually engaging to extirpate all professors of the new doctrines, and to afford one another immediate assistance to the utmost extent of their power, if any serious obstacle should arise in the accomplishment of this object. The Inquisition was of course the instrument by which it was contemplated to achieve the intended triumph.

Such, in a few words, was the state of public feeling in the Low Countries about the year 1566,

when the first decided step was taken to resist the tide of oppression which seemed every day gaining force. A small party of gentlemen having assembled at Breda, at the house of a Calvinist named Philip de Marnix, Lord of St. Aldegonde, bound themselves by oath to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in the defence of the liberties of their country. They signed an instrument, (which afterwards obtained immense circulation, and was translated into nearly every language of Europe,) proclaiming their intentions, and denouncing the Inquisition, in the most emphatic language, as the sole occasion of the step they were taking, and as a grievance which their fellow-countrymen found it no longer possible to endure.

The effects of this confederacy were immediately felt throughout the provinces. The spirit which had animated its members spread over the country like a contagion, enlisting in one common cause persons of every grade, from the nobleman to the peasant ; so that in a short space, upwards of two thousand signatures were obtained to the resolutions adopted at Breda. Among these were the names of Louis of Nassau, brother of the Prince of Orange ; Henry de Brederode, Viscount of Utrecht ; the Counts of Culembourg, and De Bergh ; together with a large proportion of the nobility : but Brederode took the lead of the

party, for which he was well qualified, as well by his illustrious descent as by his personal intrepidity.

It becomes necessary to say a few words respecting the other principal actors in the subsequent drama. William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, whose name stands at the head of the nobility of the time, was nominally a minister of the regent, and governor of the provinces of Holland and Zealand; but it was well known that his heart was with his confederated fellow-countrymen; and at a later period of life, when a fitting season had arrived, he boldly threw off the mask, and became the bulwark of Protestantism and the most conspicuous character in the history of the troubles. He had been educated in Lutheran principles, and from his early youth had been bred a statesman and a soldier. He was possessed of great firmness and resolution; clear, liberal views; a commanding intellect; and was very generally beloved and respected.

Lamoral, Count Egmont, also belonged to the highest grade of nobility; and was accounted a better soldier than the Prince of Orange, but he was not so distinguished a statesman. He was adored in the provinces of Flanders and Artois, which he governed; and was so popular a character, that when the Duchess of Parma was made regent of the Low Countries, the public

voice had already nominated Egmont to fill that exalted station. The prince and he had been on but indifferent terms till this period ; when, each being regarded with suspicion, an identity of feeling as well as of interest drew them together, and they became indissoluble friends. We had occasion to speak of this nobleman in the last chapter, when treating of the Cardinal Granvelle, who perhaps had not a greater enemy than Egmont : and the reader may not have forgotten, that under Queen Mary's reign his name occurred as ambassador from Charles V. to the English court.

Philip de Montmorenci, Count Horn, an officer whose intrepid valour partook of the character of rashness, was admiral of the seas. He had deserved well of his country ; and in addition to every other cause of disaffection, could not forget the injury which had been done him when he was called into Spain, and the government of the province of Gueldres taken from him and given to the Count Meghem. During his abode at the court of King Philip, however, he had organized a system of intelligence which he subsequently turned to good account ; and of which the Prince of Orange, in the end, availed himself materially.

Of the same party was Floris, Baron de Montigni, brother of the preceding ; and Count Mansfeld, of whom we had so much to say in

the last chapter. Louis, Count of Nassau, (the Prince of Orange's brother,) Brederode, and Culembourgh, have been already named among the professedly discontented : there were besides, the Count of Hoogestraate and others, with whom we need not delay ourselves.

The first resolution of the newly organized body was to wait upon the regent in some force, and to request an alleviation of their grievances. For this purpose, they assembled at Brussels ; and on the 5th of April, 1566, having obtained the promise of an audience, made their appearance at court. They walked by two and two, forming a long line, which was brought up by the Count of Nassau and Brederode, the latter of whom acted as spokesman. He demanded, in the name of the people, that the Inquisition should be abolished ; the Placcarts suspended ; and that a general convocation of the states should be held. Nothing decisive could be expected at such an audience ;^b but it served to create an immense

^b The term *gueux*, or as it was then pronounced *gheuses*, (beggars, rogues,) which subsequently became so famous in Flemish history as the appellation of the revolutionary party, arose at this interview ; having been reproachfully applied to the requisitionists in a whisper intended for the Duchess of Parma, but which Brederode overheard. So famous a word, occurring as it does more than once in these pages, requires some explanation ; but the reader is referred to Strada's History, book v. p. 109, for particulars of its adoption, which would be out of place here.

sensation throughout the country, and occasioned immediate and serious communication between the regent and King Philip. The king listened reluctantly to her highness' remonstrance, and at last sent equivocal promises that the existing grievances should be alleviated; but he resolved, in secret, to establish the Inquisition in Flanders by the sword, and to punish the most conspicuous of the insurgents as rebels, whenever he should get them into his power.

While the court of Spain was thus trifling with the regent,—delaying to notice her letters, or sending such replies as could not with safety be communicated to the people,—the only remaining moment when the catastrophe which ensued might perhaps have been averted, was lost. Seditious meetings were being held throughout the provinces; but nowhere was the same order observed which had prevailed at Brussels. At St. Trond, especially, where upwards of two thousand armed men assembled, the spirit which had hitherto worn the dignified air of calm patriotism, began to look very like heady rebellion. Every day added strangers, schismatics, and bad characters of every description to the ranks of the insurgents: so that in a short space of time the whole country, from being disquieted, became agitated and generally disaffected; to the great alarm of

the regent and her counsellors, who, when they discovered that it was too late to restore order, applied to King Philip more pressingly than ever, but with as little effect as on former occasions.

The hordes of disaffected persons and miscreants of every description which, for a long period, had been congregating in different parts of the Low Countries, (but nowhere more than at Antwerp,) had also by this time increased to an alarming extent. The materials of which these masses of men were composed, were of the most suspicious kind. Outlaws, vagabonds, paupers, thieves,—men without religion and without law, swelled their ranks ; but by far the most prominent feature in this motley assemblage were the refugee sectarians of Germany and France, who had joined themselves, at first secretly, but by degrees without attempt at concealment, to the disaffected body. It is curious indeed to notice how craftily the German Anabaptists, and other fanatics, contrived to engraft themselves, as it were, on the troubles of this period, and give a religious character to what should have been a civil, rather than a religious struggle. They preached in the open air in French or in Flemish, propounding doctrines which they understood very imperfectly themselves ; and still oftener, substituting for doctrines their own dreamy reveries. How little

these dogmatizers had the welfare of the people whom they professed to enlighten at heart, needs scarcely to be told ; but partly from curiosity, and partly from conviction, large auditories awaited them wherever they went ; while the efforts which the local authorities occasionally made to put them down, only added strength to their cause, and prejudiced the lower orders in their favour.

Among the lesser means of excitement practised at this period, the influence of the press may be mentioned. Seditious pamphlets, blasphemous songs, and satirical pasquinades were everywhere circulated. " Here ys, of late, certain pasquyluses sett forthe, bothe in Latin and French ; wherof I do send you the copy here inclosyd," said Clough, writing to Gresham in July 1566 ; and in December he wrote,—“ I do send you a wryting or pasquylyus, which was of late sette up att Brussells ; which is in Dutche, for that I had not the time to translate ytt into French.”

The insurgents were holding their turbulent meeting at St. Trond during the months of May, June, and July 1566, while the preaching was being carried on with activity throughout the Low Countries. The first consequence of this system of excitement was the spoliation of several religious houses, by a small body of miscreants, in more than one part of the kingdom. But it was

not till the month of August, that the fury of the storm was felt, and the extent to which fanaticism will hurry a mob of ruffians, perceived by the panic-struck inhabitants.

We are at last able to resume the thread of our narrative, and return to Sir Thomas Gresham and Richard Clough,—the latter of whom wrote to his master from Antwerp once a-week or oftener, and never failed to communicate the particulars of every “marvellous stir” which occurred. As a contemporary chronicler, his narrative possesses considerable historical interest; while his graphic manner constantly reminds us, that the words are those of one who had been an eye-witness of the scenes he describes. The following extracts from two of his letters, (of the 10th and 22nd of July, 1566,) will require no commentary after what has just been stated in illustration of the history of the period.

We have “had here a mervelus styр on Mondaye at nyght: for that, about xi of the clocke, newse was geven out that the towne was betreyed, and that there should be lett in at the gates a great nombre of horsemen and fotemen. So that thys styр duryd all the nyght, (all men in harness, and great watche set at the gates,) and in the morning [it] somewhat ceased. So that, presently, dyvers of the Lords of this towne

ar in some danger, for that the comyn pepell are geven to understande that a company of them should have betrayed the towne, to saye,—the Margrave, Lancelott Van Ursyll, Barcham, and Skone Horne; so that they are in grett danger, as most men thynke, nott without cause. And as thys daye it is appoynted that there shalle be prechyng, and on Fryday and Sunday, and so wekely; and the like at Gawnt, and in most parts of thys country.

“As on Saturday last, was a proclamassion at Armenters, that no man should go to the sermone uppon payne of hangyng; wheruppon on Sunday, in the morning, went out of the towne to the sermone above xvi thousand persons, all with their wepons in battel array; and so, after the sermone [they] returned into the towne, and went to the high baylyffe’s house, (who had taken one precher prysoner 2 or 3 days before,) and commanded hym to deliver the prisoner; which he refused. Wherupon they went to the prison and brake it, and delivered the precher; and so, every one departyd.

“As also the lyke business was on Sunday at Hoogestraate. The precher being at hys sermone without the towne, the prysts rong [an] alarme, thynkyng by that menes to have rysen the country against them: but, (contrary to their

meanyng,) an yf their feete had not servyd them the better, they had all bene slayne of the bors. So that thys styrrre ys generally throughout all the country; but for nombre of pepell, Gawnt passyth all.”¹

“All thys notwithstanding, the Regent (as it is said) had prepared a number of horsemen and fotemen to have overrone the pepell here at the preching. And the Lords of Andwerpe understanding thereof, sent Wyssebeke, the penysonarys, in post to the Regent on Saturday in the afternoone, requyring hyr to staye that enterpryse; or, and if she wold nott, to protest agaynst hyr the utter ruyne and destruccyon of the towne of Andwerpe: declaryng unto hyr that and yf she shed the pooryt man’s blode that went to the preching, they were well assured that before night there should nott one spyrytual man nor papyst lyve within the towne. Wherein and yf they should take part to defende the spyrytualty, they should dye so well as the other. Wherupon, [when] the Regent had well consydered upon the matter, there was sent letters in all haste to staye that enterprise: which letters came att 5 of the clocke in the morning, just as they went to the preching. So that all was stayd, as God wolde; and to the contrary, the

¹ July 10, 1566.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

* congregation had preparyd betwene 4 and 500 soldiers with corers, and about 150 horsemen, besydes above 4 or 5000 with dags, (as yt was judged of them that came to the preching); where was, as most men judged, above 30,000 persons, young and olde,—but so far as I colde judge, in seeing them come from the preching, there was at the lest 20,000, both Sunday and Monday. And as sone as the sermone was done, and the psallmes sung, there was syche a peal of guns as I have not hearde the lyke,—more lyker thunder than otherwyse. And that beyng done, all men came home quietly. But and if they had beene molestyd, and butt one man hurt, here would have bene a sorrofull daye to the papysts, and grett doubt to others also.”^k

On the 4th of August, he writes: “As for occurrents, here ys not moche other than that the pepell do styll go to the prechyng; rather more than lesse. For that on Thursday last at the preching tyme, I went that waye, when I saw all the pepell, wyche were to my judgement above xx thousand,—very many of the best and wealthiest of the towne. And as I do understande, on Friday last past, the provost Marsyall musteryd at Macklyn 400 men; but what he wyll do withall, God knowyth: and havyng mus-

^k July 22, 1566.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

teryd them, he wolde have sent 200 to Brussells, which they refused to resseve, and shutt the gates against them. Wheruppon, wheras the Regent had the keys of the towne in keeping, the commyns went to the Regent for the keys, and tolde her plainly that they wolde not away tyll they had the keys: wheruppon they were delivered unto them.

“They say here, that all the horses in the country are bought up by the Geysses, [Gueux,] and that there was of late given by the congregation 42,000 gyllders amonxt them that were unprovdyd of horses and harness.”¹

A week later, we read: “The Protestants have delivered over another request besydes *that* I dyd send you; whereof the Regent hath sett them off till the 23rd of thys present for their answer. So that, so far as I can lerne, these matters wyll breke out, and that, out of hande; for that and if the Regent do not geve them answer the 23rd day, and syche answer as they looke for, (which [it] ys thought she wyll nott,) then it ys doubtfull that here wyll be a fowle styr. For so fer as I can perseve, the Protestants do more than they were mynded to do; because they wolde see and yf the papysts wolde begyn: wych yf they do, I doubt they wyll all

¹ August 4, 1566.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

go to wreck. For and yf there be once blode shed, then the styr will begyn. God be mercyfull unto them, and to us all! for and yff they do once begyn, yt will be a bloody tyme; for it is marvyllous to see how the commyn pepell are bent against the papysts.”^m

Occurrences such as these, must of course have alarmed the Regent in no slight degree. “She fayneth herself to be sicke, has sent her jewels and plate to Cologn, and would be gladly gone herself,” says Clough, writing on the 4th of August; but it is his letter of the 21st which narrates the fearful catastrophe.

“Ihus ad. 21 de August, a° 1566, in Andwerpe.

“ Sir,

“For that I have not receyved anny letters from your Mastersheppe of late, I have the lesse to wryte as towching your affeyres; all things being in good order hitherto, (God be praised!); but how long yt shall so remain, God knowyth; for that we have had here this night past a mervellus styr,—all the churches, chapels, and howsys of religion utterly defaced, and no kynde of things left whole within them, but brokyn and utterly destroyed; being done after such order and with so few folkes, that yt is to be marveyled at.

^m August 11, 1566.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

“ And because you shall understand how this matter beganne, yeterday about 5 of the clock, the prysts, thynkyng to have song cōplene, as we call it, and here lost ;ⁿ and when they should have began their servis, there was a company began to sing psalmes, att the beginning being butt a company of boys ; wherupon the Margrave, and other [of] the Lords came to the church, and rebukyd them. But all in vaine ; for that as soon as they turned their baks, they to it agayne ; and the company increased, beyng begun in owre Lady Church : so that, about 6 of the clocke, they brak up the quere, and went and vysyted all the books ; wereof, as it ys sayd, some they savyd, and the rest [they] utterly destroyed and brake.

“ After that, they begun with the image of owre Lady, which had bene carryd about the towne on Sunday last, and utterly defaced her and her chappell ; and after, the whole church, which was the costylyst church in Europe ; and have so spoylyd yt, that they have nott left a place to sytt on in the church. And from thence, part went to the parish churches, and part to the howsys of Religion, and made such dispache as I thynk the lyke was never done in one nyght ;

ⁿ These terms, connected with the Roman Catholic service, the writer is unable to explain.

and not so moche to be wonderyd att of the doing, butt that so few pepell durst or colde do so much: for that when they entered into some of the houses of Religion, I colde not perseve in some churches above x or xii that spoyled,—all being boys and raskalls; but there were many in the church lookers-on, (as some thought, setters-on.)

“Thys thing was done so quyett and so styll, as if there had bene nothing ado in the churches; all men standing before their dores in harness, lookyng upon these fellows passing from church to church, who as they passid through the streets, requiryd all men to be quiett, and cryed all *vyve la gowsse*, [vivent les gueux.] So that, after I saw that all should be quiett, I, with above x thousand more, went into the churches to see what styrrre was there; and coming into owre Lady Church, yt lookyd lyke a hell: where were above 1000 tourches brannyng, and syche a noise! as yf heven and erth had gone togeder, with fallyng of Images and betyng down of costyly works; in syche sort, that the spoil was so grett that a man could not well pass through the church. So that, in fine, I cannot wryte you in x sheets of paper the strange syght I saw there,—organes and all, distroyed! and from thence I went, (as the rest of the pepell dyd,) to all the

howses of religion, where was the like stir,—breaking and spoiling all that ther was. Yett, they that thys dyd, never lokyd towards any spoil, but brak all in pieces, and lett it lye underfote. So that, to be short, they have spoiled and distroyed all the churches, so well nonnerys as other; but as I do understand they neither sayd nor dyd any thing to the nuns: but when all was broken, left yt there, and so departed. So that, by extimation, they that spoiled, medelyd with nothing, but let it lye; and before yt was iii of the clock in the morning, they had done their work, and all [were] home agayne, as yf there had bene nothing done: so that they spoiled thys night between xxv and xxx churches. And it ys thinkt thys daye, many more shall be spoiled abroad; for that in dyvers places in Flanders they have [done,] and do, the lyke. For they that do spoyle in Flanders, goo by 4 and 500 in a company; and when they come to a towne or vylage, they call for the governor of the towne, and so go into the church; where, so much silver or golde as they do fynde, either chalys or cross, they breake and deface, and then deliver it to the head offiser by weight; and for the rest, [they] utterly destroy [it]. And coming to a towne in Flanders where they so spoiled, one of their company dyd hyde awaye the valew of 4 or 5

shillings; where uppon they toke hym, and causyd a payre of gallows to be made, and hanged him on the markett place: and said they came nott to steal, but to spoil *that* was against God.

“So that these matters go forwards;—God send a good ende! Butt and yff you do come, (as I do loke for you within a day or two,) you shall see wonders: wishing and praying to God that I do not see *that* I do much doubt I shall,—the breche and hurt of your credytt. For that I do perseve by letters received from my fellow Candeler, you have commandyd more money to be takyn up by Exchange; and beyng so far in before, and the grett dangers towards,—wherin I can saye no more; but pray unto God than all may be well, and end well. For I have always heard saye, that there can be no more plague than when God takyth away a man’s wisdom; and in this poynt you do much forgett yourselfe. As also I do see by my fellow Candeler’s letter, that you do bryng over newe bondes for prolongation of the dett; and here do I fynde no man wylling to prolong, unless yt be one or two. So that, att your coming, you shall see and hear more; for I can do no more but, according to my duty, to wryte you myne opinion therein: praying God that all may be well, and to send your mastersheppe a good

passage and safe arrayal here, and then you shall see more than I can wryte yow.

Your mastersheppe's servant,

RYC. CLOUGH.

"Herewithall I do sende you letters that I received from Doctor Montt, to the secretary, and other."

"To hys ryght worshipfull master, S^r Thomas Gressam, Knyghtt, the Queen's Majestie's agentt, in London.

Haste haste haste post haste haste."°

The description which Strada, the historian of the Low-Country wars, has left us of this eventful night, corresponds very nearly with Clough's narrative : but he supplies us in addition with some graphic particulars which bring the scene fearfully before one. "The Heretics," he says, "expecting till even-song was done, shouted with a hideous cry *Long live the Gheuses*, and commanded the image of the Blessed Virgin to repeat their acclamation, which if she refused to do, they madly swore they would beat and kill her. . . . Now when they had possessed themselves of the church, hearing the clock strike the last hour of the day, and darkness adding confidence, one of them, (lest their wickedness should want formality,) began

to sing a Geneva psalm; and then, as if the trumpet had sounded a charge, the spirit moving them altogether, they fell upon the effigies of the Mother of God, and upon the pictures of Christ and his Saints. Some tumbled them down, and trod upon them; others thrust swords into their sides; others chopped off their heads with axes; with so much concord and forecast in their sacrilege, that you would think every one had his several work assigned him. The very harlots, those common appurtenances to thieves and drunkards, catching up the wax-candles from the altars and from the vestry, held them to light the men that were at work: part whereof, getting upon the altars, cast down the sacred plate, broke asunder the picture-frames, and defaced the painted walls: part, setting up ladders, shattered the goodly organs, and broke the windows flourished with a new kind of paint. Huge statues of saints, that stood in the walls upon pedestals, they unfastened and hurled down; among which, an ancient and great crucifix, with the two thieves hanging on each hand of our Saviour, they pulled down with ropes, and hewed in pieces; but touched not the two thieves, as if they only worshipped them, and desired them to be their good Lords. The chalices which they found in the vestry, they filled with wine prepared

for the altar, and drank them off in derision ; greasing their shoes with the chrisme, or holy oil : and after the spoil of all these things, laughed and were very merry at the matter." Well might Stapylton, in translating this passage, exclaim in the margin, " O profane !"

The historian does not fail to express astonishment at that which, it must be confessed, was the most extraordinary part of the whole business ; namely, that the miscreants who occasioned so much mischief, were not more than one hundred in number. The expedition used in the work, and the success and personal safety with which it was accomplished, he roundly ascribes to the agency of the Evil Spirit and his angels. Nor has Strada omitted to notice the spoliation of the religious houses, and the alarm of the peaceful citizens, disturbed from sleep ; the clergy waking to provide for their safety by flight, and the merchants to barricado their doors. " But the poor Nuns," he says, " were in the greatest fright and amazement, whose cloisters were broke by these Hobgoblins." Lastly, as if to awaken sympathies which his previous recital might have failed to reach, Strada speaks of monastic libraries invaded, and of books (by which he must mean illuminated missals) buttered and then burnt ; adding, that there occurred " so great a loss of rare pieces

drawn by the hands of Masters, that some writers stick not to say the great church alone was damaged to the value of 400,000 ducats.”^p

Clough had written on the 20th, the 21st, and the 22nd of August; but of these letters only that of the 21st remains: writing on the 25th by the regular post, which left Antwerp once a-week, (on Sunday night,) he could not help alluding again to the occurrences which had formed the subject of his last letter. “It was the marveylest pece of work that ever was sene done in so short a tyme; and so terybell in the doing, that yt wolde make a man afayrd to thinke uppon it,—being more lyke a dreame than such a piece of work.

“And whereas it was well allowed, in a manner, of all men, the pulling down of the Images,—it is dislyked of most men that they have made such a spoil as they have done, in stelyng all the golde, sylver, and jewells within the church; and breking up of doores where they had nothing to doo. They have spoiled not only the evydens of all the churches, but the evydens of many in this town; who had brought their evydens into the church for fere of fyre, or other. As also, whereas there was many faire sepoultures made in the churches, they have broken and defased them all:

^p De Bello Belgico, &c. translated by Sir R. Stapylton, folio, 1650, book v. pp. 124-6.

so that by this meanes and other, the prechers are come much into the derision of the pepell. God turn all to the best! for that presently we are here in grett perplexity att thys present,—all men one afraide of another; and nott without cause, for that the number of the poore are so much—abell to be master over the other. So that and if there were not very good watch and warde, it were not other [than] possybell but that all should go to ruine here. And for the avoydyng thereof, the whole towne hath watched night and day ever since thys business began; and must do, for a tyme; for that now there are many taken that have taken of the silver and jewels out of the church, who shall be putt to execution; where about, I doubt will be muche adoo.”^a

Scenes equally disgraceful, according to the same writer, had been witnessed throughout Zealand; at Flushing, Middleburgh, Ghent, Mechlin, Bourbourg, and Breda; and in all the principal cities of Brabant, except Louvain and Brussels, where a similar demonstration of feeling was daily expected. “The Protestants,” he adds, “are not to be blamed; for that, so far as I can lerne, there was not one that was put to worke of purpose, that has taken the worth of a penny: but the hurt

^a Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

that was done, was done by *vacabonds* that followed. Whereof some of our nation are *blamed*, and not without cause; for here are a great nombre in this towne that are fled out of England for robbying and such lyke, and [these] kept such a stir in this spoil!—more than enough.

“In this towne, all kind of merchandise is at a steý; and most men of reputacion [are] fled abroad into all places: for that, of all lykelyhood, thys matter cannot be well endyd, but that thys towne shall be in danger to be spoiled; for that all the *vakabonds* of the country draweth to this towne. God send us quyetness!

“Syns the begynning of thys my letter, they write from Brussells that the Regent hath made answer to the *gwessys* [*gueux*,] weche ys to their contentment; and [that] ys, that the whole matter ys comitted to the order of the Prince of Orange, the county of Egmont, and the county of Horne, tyll such tyme as that the great states of this country do meet; whiche hath not beene in *iiij* xx [four-score] yeres, nor cannot well be done in a yere or so. So that thys ys *that* they have desired for; and yf any men, by the procurement of the court, should take upon them to reforme any of these matters, either by forse or otherwyse, these nobellmen maye by authority take part against them. So that there ys good hope

that all shall be well. And now, since thys great falle of Babylon, the prechers that were wont to preche without, prech now within the towne; and begonne, as yesterday, in the forenoon, (beyng appointed by the Lords,) one to preche in St. George's church, one in the Boro' church, and one in the Black-Friars. But when they came to the Friars, they shut the dors, and wolde not suffer them to enter: whereupon the pepell wolde have brokyn down the dors, but the precher wold not, at no hand, that they should do [so]; and so went into the new town by the Esterlinge Howse, and prechyd: but the other two prechyd in the churches."

"So that now there ys good hope that all shall be well. And whereas in the great spoile dyvers pieces of alters stood, as allso the xii apostells about the church, which had cost a great sum of money, (every picture att the least x foote high,) the Lords have causyd them to be pullyd down and broken in pieces, and all other images that remained. As also they have caused all the alters to be brokyn in pieces, and the alter-stones, some of towche^r and some of marbell, brokyn in pieces. So that, so far as I can perceive, they

^r *Touch* means, properly, hard black granite. See Nares' Glossary for some interesting examples of the use of this word by our elder poets.

will leeve nothing in the church whereof any memory should be ; and all the stuff of that wych ys broken, the Lords have given to the masters of the poor, which ys worth a greet piece of monny allthough it be brokyn. For I dare say that the garnyshing of our Lady Church had cost above 200,000 marks ; for there was dyvers alters that had cost 5, 6, and 700*l*. Before my next, I think all the Netherlands will be made clere.”

“ Syns the ending of this my letter (being Sunday, at viii of the clocke,) the prechers of the word of God go to their sermons in the new towne : whereupon the prysts, thinking not to have over [?] this openyd all the churches and began to preche. Wherupon dyvers stood up and said this their doctryne was false doctryne : whereupon was lyke to have come a fowle piece of work. Wherupon the Lords sent unto them their offysers, commanding them not only to leve preching, but also to shut up their churches, or else *they* wold. So that the prysts wyll not leve thys, till they have sought so well their owne destruction, as of their images ; for as I do understand, and yf they be not quyett, and that they do seke any further business, some of the Captains have said that they wyll not leve one pryst or frere alyve in the country.” *

* Aug. 25, 1566.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

The letter from which these last extracts have been given, never reached Sir Thomas Gresham, but was forwarded to Cecil by Richard Candeler, —the person who superintended Gresham's affairs in Lombard-street, and into whose hands, when Gresham was away, it naturally fell. Sir Thomas, in consequence of the approaching payments at Antwerp, and Clough's repeated hints that his presence would be very desirable in that city, had finally taken his departure; and thus had an opportunity of beholding with his own eyes the scene so minutely described to him by his correspondent. He left London on the 23rd of August; and the same post which was the bearer of Clough's letter, brought Candeler despatches from his master written between Dunkirk and Newport.

While the commotions which Clough describes were going forward in the principal towns of the Low Countries, it is not surprising that all financial operations were for awhile suspended; and as soon as it became necessary to renew any of the queen's bonds, or negotiate any fresh loans with the Antwerp merchants, the presence and personal influence of the queen's factor were found to be indispensable. Clough had written him word on the 22d of July, that he was unable to conclude satisfactorily with Sir Paul Van Dalle, relative to

a certain pecuniary transaction ; adding, “ If you maye be spared att home, I wolde wishe that you made a start over, and then I do not doubt, an if he can by any menes, he wyll serve your turne.” Gresham, when he enclosed this letter to the secretary, (“ showing what a dangerous world is there towarde,”) proposed waiting upon him on the 3rd of August ; and offered, as soon as he should be furnished with the necessary Instructions, to cross the seas.[†]

It must have been an unwelcome summons, for a month had scarcely elapsed since he had laid the foundation-stone of his Burse, and he must have been busily engaged at that moment in watching the progress of the infant structure. Writing on the 13th of August from his house at Ringshall in Suffolk, where he was providing the timber requisite for that undertaking, he told Cecil,—“ Tomorrow, I intend to depart for London, whereas I trust to find in a rediness the ii m *li.* which I promised to furnish the Quene’s Majestie bie exchange ; and so, to make my repaire into Flanders withe all the expedition that I canne, for the accomplishment of her Highness’ instructions.”[‡] On the 23rd of August he started on his

[†] London, July 26.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

[‡] See *anteà*, p. 109. It appears from the minute of a letter from the Queen to Sir T. G. (dated Aug. 6, 1566,) that he went

journey, and met on the road the post which was the bearer of Clough's long despatch, dated the 21st, given in a preceding page. This he forwarded immediately to the secretary, with a short letter of his own, from which the following is an extract, dated "from Halling Plasysse, besydes Rochester, the xxijth daye [of August,] at one of the clocke after mydnyght." It seems reasonable to infer from the context, that he was writing in the house of his cousin, Thomas Leveson, or Lewson, Esq., who had married Ursula, a daughter of Sir John Gresham :^{*} but neither Hasted nor any older authority notices Halling-Place as a residence of the Levesons ; and what is stranger, in-

over to prolong the loan of 32,000*l.* due on the 20th of August ; and to take up, in addition, the sum of 20,000*l.*—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

* " Vrsule Gresham was borne a pon Saynt Vrsuly's daye, the xxi daye off October, a^o 1534. Mr. Wyllm. Gresham, her godfather ; and Mr. Ric. Gresham's wyfe, and olde Mystris Hille, and Christian Gresham, were godmothers ; and God make her a good old woman, and blyssyd saynt Vrsula—the Wedynsday." Such is the curious notice of Ursula Gresham's birth, in a MS. already quoted in the former volume, where the nativities of her brothers and sisters are recorded : (Appendix, No. I, after the Pedigree.) From her, the Duke of Buckingham and the Marquis of Stafford are descended. William Leveson Gower, Esq. of Titsey Park, in Surrey, belongs to the family of the latter nobleman, and can therefore trace a maternal descent from Sir John Gresham, through his son ; and a paternal descent through his daughter.

stead of one mile, that mansion is nearly five miles distant from Rochester. *Whorne's-Place* (three miles and a half from the same town) was their family-seat.*

“ Right honorable Sir,

“ It may like you to understande that, as this day, I toke my journey towards Flanders; and being within one myle of Rochester, at my cowssyn Lewsson's house, I received letters from Cloughe of the xxith at xii of the clocke this night; whereby you shall perceive what stir is in Andwerpe of deffasing of churches, and the idolatries of the same, wych ys lyke to grow to some great incontynence: or, at the least, it will alter all money matters, whereby I shall fynd no mony for the payments of my bills of exchange. Whereof, according to my most boundyd duty, I have thought good to advertise you with dilligence by this bringer, (John Sprittwell, the post of Dover,) whom I most humbly beseche your honnor to retorne me with dilligens for the Quene's Majestie's further pleasure. I doo intend, for all this stir, to macke my repayre to Andwerpe, according to the Quene's Majestie's commandement in that behalf. The cause I stayed so long at London, was to dispatch my Lorde Treasurer of the ii *lib.*; wyche ys paid, the most part, to the

* For a few further particulars, see Appendix, No. XXVIII.

hungrye Iryshmen. I never saw men so greedy of the receipt of money! So that I have paid to my Lorde Treasurer the whole sum of the ii m *lib.*"⁷

Gresham reached Antwerp on the 29th of August, and on the 1st of September wrote again to his friend Cecil. The storm had by that time considerably abated, as if spent by its own fury; but what had chiefly contributed to restore order, was a compromise which the regent had made with the insurgents of St. Trond, on the 23rd of August,—the same as that alluded to by Clough, in his letter of the 11th. On her own responsibility she had promised that the Inquisition should be suppressed, and consented that the preaching should go forward without impediment; on condition that mass should be again performed in the churches, and that the Romanists should suffer no molestation from the professors of the reformed religion.⁸ This, as the freshest piece of intelli-

⁷ To Cecil, Aug. 23, 1566.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

⁸ In consequence of this arrangement, "temples," as they were called, began to be erected in Antwerp for the accommodation of the Protestants. Clough writes, (Sept. 29, 1566),—"They have laid and begun the foundation of four new tempells, besides the great barne at St. Mychell's, which ys very handsomely trymmed for a preaching place, being iii xx [three-score] foote brede, and 166 foote long: and so shall all the tempells be at the least."—Ibid. Each was to contain 10,000 persons, and 7,000*l.* had been paid for the ground which they were to occupy.

gence, is naturally the opening subject of Gresham's letter. He adds, that the recent occurrences had struck panic into every mind, and that the wealthiest merchants were daily flying the town: after which, he describes his own proceedings, and explains how much trouble he had had in taking up the sum of 10,000*l.*; concluding with the following curious passage:—

“ Other I have not t^o molest you withall, but that it may please you to do mie most humble commendations to the Earle of Leicester, and to the Earl of Wormonde: rendering unto him my most humble thanks for the great carouse which he drancke to me at Simpringham.*

“ As the yere of our Lord dothe chaunge here

* Sempringham is a village in Lincolnshire, of which another mention elsewhere occurs; but what the court did there, I cannot discover.—Thomas, tenth Earl of Ormond, called, from the darkness of his complexion, “ the black earl,” was the first of his family who conformed to Protestantism; and having been educated at the court of England, stood high in the favour of Queen Elizabeth, who made him lord-treasurer of Ireland,—a circumstance which sufficiently accounts for his intimacy with our merchant. The fact of his ancestors having been for three centuries and a half hereditary chief-butlers of Ireland, satisfactorily explains ‘ the great carouse ’ he drank to Gresham; as well as Gresham’s choice of the same pledge when he desired his commendations to the earl. [Vide *suprà*, p. 110.] Concerning his *butlership*, see Lynch’s ‘ View of the Legal Institutions, &c. of Ireland,’ a few curious extracts from which will be found in Burke’s Peerage and Baronetage.

at Christmas, and with us at Easter, therefore youe must make the bonds to paie in the paie-ments of the cold-marte, *anno* 1567,—which paie-ments endeth the last of February next coming : which pointe in no wyse may not be forgotten. As also, you must get all the Lordes' names to the subscribinge of the bondes you canne get ; or at the leaste you must have them that was unto the bondes which I brought over : for that ere I colde go through with these Almones, [Germans,] I was fain to show them one of the bonds that I brought over with me ; and have promised them, by my hand-writinge, that they shall have at the least these handes, yf they have no more. There was subscribid at these bondes N. Bacon, T. Norfolk, R. Leicester, W. Haward, E. Rogers, F. Knolles, W. Cecill, W. Mildmaie. All these must be had (by promis,) although you do sende purposely to the Duke [of Norfolk] and other, for their handes ; for otherwise they will not medell with the bondes. Youe shall do well to send to the Earl of Pembrok, the Lorde Marques, and the Lorde Treasurer for their handes. For these Welsers I could never get in, untill now ; which be men of great name and fame throughout all Christendom, and through the death of his old factor, (which was a dog and a rancke papist,) and his factor, being nowe, is one that I have dealt

much in times past for myne own affaires, when I did occupie merchandise being in Spain xii yerres past, who hathe perswaded his masters to enter. Therefore, good Sir, I praie youe that these handes above written maie be had, and more (an you can) for the better satisfaction.—As for your paving-stones, theie will be here within these x daies at the furthest, which shall not so soone come to this towne but shall be shipped for London, the first ship that shall depart from hence.—As this daie, at eleven of the clocke at noone, the Inquisition and the Placcart was proclaimed at the towne-house that it should never be permitted to come in this country, which hathe made manie a glad harte at this present.”^b

Gresham lost no time in bringing his business at Antwerp to an end: writing by the regular post on the 8th of September, (a week after the date of the preceding,) he announced his intention of immediately returning home, in the following words:—

“Likewise I have spoken with the Queen’s Majestie’s creditors for the prolonging of the rest of the xxxij m *li.*, with whom I have had much ado; but (thanks be to God!) now I am at a point with them. So that I have delivered them the new bondes to consider; and upon the receipt

^b Antwerp, Sept. 1, 1566.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

of the old, I doo intend (with the leave of God and the Quene's Majestie) to make my repaire homewards with the olde bonds ; and so to departe this town with as much honnor and credit to my sovereign as ever I did in all my life. For, withe my sodden departure, I shall give the burse and all other marchaunts to understand that I have no more neede of monie, and that I have contented all the creditors ; which is most convenient for me so to do as the time now requirith. For that I do see and feele already that here is no more monny to be had at no price ; by reason I have gone through all the monnie-men by one practise or other, and specially with all them which I was wonte to deale withal,—as the Fucker, Schetz, Paules Van Dall, Rellinger, Lixall, the heires of Lazarus Tucker, and divers other ; of whom there was not a peny to be had, by the reason they be so farre ought with their Prince, and verie sore indebted in this place, and take up all they can get, themselves, to preserve their credit. So, Sir, I will no further molest your honnor of the great scarcity of monnie that is here ; nor also what ado I have had to come by this monnie ; but therein refer me to the report of others. Being right glad, in this miserable time, that I have accomplished the things that her highness sent me over for. This week," adds Gresham, " I do

inteande to banket the Quene's Majestie's creditors, bothe younge and olde." ^c

The writer availed himself of the same opportunity to remonstrate with the secretary on the queen's delay in fulfilling her promise made to him at her accession, in Cecil's presence,—that if Gresham served her as faithfully as he had served her brother and sister, she would recompense him with more land than both those sovereigns had given him. This remonstrance (couched in almost the same words which the writer had employed on former occasions) is followed by a brief statement of his services. The united affairs of King Edward and Queen Mary had amounted to 740,000*l.*; but Queen Elizabeth's alone amounted to 1,100,000*l.*: besides which, this was "the thirty-first journey of charge" he had performed since her highness had come to the crown. He apprized the secretary that he had written to the queen in order to recall the circumstance to her memory, and probably enclosed his epistle; for along with Gresham's letter to Cecil, is preserved the beautifully-written one which he addressed to Queen Elizabeth, wherein he recapitulates his services. "In consideration whereof, and for the other great services which I have done to your Highnes for the space of these eight yeres, I trust

^c Vide *anteà*, vol. i. p. 83, et seq.

nowe in my olde daies your Majestie will have the like consideration of mie services as Kinge Edwarde and Queene Marie, your late brother and sister, had: whom I had not served two yeres apeece of them, but they gave me betwene them three hundreth pownds land a yere, to me and to my heires for ever."

Such an address from a private individual to his sovereign seems strange; but more primitive still is the tone of the paragraph which follows:—"Other I have not to molest your Highnes withal, but that as yet I cannot find no horse nor sworde that will like your Highnes; but, *for your head-pieces of silke, I trust to bringe you those rollers that shall like you.*"^d

To proceed with Gresham's letter. "As the iiijth of this present, the Prince of Orendge sent for me to dine with him, who gave me verie great intertainment; and as he had demandid of the helth of the Quene's Majestie, he of himself discoursed unto me all the proceedings of this town, and what a dangerous peece of worke it was, and that now he had agreed with the Protestaunts: which agreement he caused to be reade unto me by the Recorder of this towne, Weasingbeck, (he which came into Englande for the license of corn,)* be-

^d Antwerp, Sept. 8, 1566.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

* See *antea*, p. 91, note v.

ing the same daie proclaimed at the towne-house : the coppie thereof I send you here inclosed. But in all this discourse he said,—‘ The kinge wold not be content with this oure doings ;’ which causeth me to think this matter is not yet endid, but like to come to great mischief ; and specially if the King of Spaine maie get the upper hande. He also askid me ‘ whether our nation was minded to depart this town or not :’ I showed him ‘ I heard of no such matter.’

“ Sir, I like nothing here of these proceedings : therefore your honnor shall do verie well in time to consider some other realme and place for the utterance of our comodities that is made within our realme ; whereby her Majestie’s realme maie remain in peace and quietness, which in this brabbling time is one of the chefest things your honnor hath to loke unto : considering in what termes this country doth now stand in, which is readie one to cut another’s thrott for matters of religion. And the courte (as farre as I can perceive) is faine to set up the masse and the idolles again ; for at Brussells the chiefest church is kept by force, that no man shall do any hurte to the masse nor to the idoles.”

The Prince of Orange (who was governor of the town of Antwerp) was right in his surmise, that the concessions made by the regent in order

to restore her dominions to a state of quietness, would by no means be approved of at the court of Spain : and he probably had an instinctive apprehension, (equally well founded,) that in case the recent disturbances should be rigorously investigated, his personal safety might be exposed to considerable hazard. In conversing with Sir Thomas Gresham on the subject, his object seems to have been to discover, if possible, what disposition was entertained towards the revolutionary party by Queen Elizabeth and her ministers. “ In all his talk,” continues Gresham, “ he said unto me,— ‘ I know this will nothing content the king :’ and at dinner he carvid me, himself, all the dinner-time ; and in the midst of dinner, he drank a carouse to the Queene’s Majestie, which carouse the Princess his wief, and withal the borde, did the like. And since that time, here is by me, one Giles Hoffman, (who the Quene’s Majestie owith a good piece of monny,) who had great discourse with me about this business ; who is a Protestant for his life, and askid me whether I wold go to the sermons or not : and I said,— ‘ Aye.’ And in conclusion he askid me,— ‘ How thinke you, Mr. Gresham ; forasmuch as the Quene’s Majestie and her realme is of this religion,—thinke you that she giveth aid to our noblemen, as she did in France for the religion’s sake ?’ To that I answerid,

and askid him whether the noblemen had demandid any helpe of her Majesty? He said he colde not tell. 'Then,' I made answer, 'I was no counselor, nor never dealt with such great matters.'"^f

Sir Thomas Gresham prudently avoided offering any opinion on this subject: but Elizabeth's favourable disposition towards the Prince of Orange is well known. Not that, as yet, she confessed this openly: it was, on the contrary, her practice to express disapprobation of any attempt on the part of the subject to take up arms against the sovereign, (or, as she phrased it, 'the body revolting against its head,') under whatever circumstances. A still more cogent motive for maintaining the appearance of neutrality in these intestine disturbances, was her anxiety to avoid a rupture with the kings of France and Spain; who would have simultaneously become her declared enemies, had she openly assisted the Prince of Orange: but her inclination to favour his party soon after displayed itself, on more than one occasion, when the cause of Protestantism had in a measure become identified with the success of his arms.

^f Antwerp, Sept. 8th, 1566.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off. There exists a copy of this letter among the State-Papers, also in Gresham's hand-writing; but in the copy, the affair of the "300*l.* land" is omitted.

Dr. Wotton, who was returning from the Spa about this period, took Antwerp in his way home; and on the 18th of September wrote Cecil a letter, of which Sir Thomas Gresham was the bearer. The notices it contains give it ample title to insertion in this place.

“ Sir,

“ Returninge from the Spa homewarde, and passing by Andwerpe, wher I trustid to remayne 2 or 3 days unknowen, (being lodgid pourposely owte of the way, farre from all acquayntance); but such streight garde is kept at the gates, that though I did not otherwyse declare what I was, but that I was owte of England, and came from the Spaa, and what company I had with me there, yet the Prince of Orange, governor of the towne, perceyvid who I was. And the next daye Sir Thomas Gresham beinge feastid by the Prince, learnidde of the Prince that I [was in the] towne; so, that night Mr. Gresham, (whome I thought to have [been departed] from Andwarpe before my cominge thither,) made such search for me [that he] fownde me owte. And so, perceyvinge that the Prince knew I was [here, I] thought I cowde not but see hym er I departid. And Mr. Gresham [the next] daie, after feastinge the Prince, Princesse, and the Prince's brother, and [the rest of] his kinsmen at a howse of Mr. Gresham's

a little owte of the towne, I went thither with him; wher the Prince usid me very courteously, and his brother Count Lodewyke^e lykewyse. Both their talke, and specially Counte Lodewyke's, was such as it seemid they feared the King was nothings content with either of them for their proceedings heere, and that they had no greate hope of eny goode ende of these matters: and heerof the sayde Prince hath talkid also largely with this bearar, Mr. Gresham, whome he usith very familiarly, and hath also feastid him twyse, while I was in Andwerp.

“And now, Sir, I trust to be shortly in England; and as the Courte shall approche neere London, so to awayte upon yow there, and to declare unto yow how well I have spedde at the Spa. And forbicause that Mr. Gresham can very perfytelye infourme yow of all the newes of these partes, I shall remitte that to him; and preye God to preserve your honor longe in helth and prosperitie. From Brugis, the 18th of September, 1566.

“Your honor's at commandement,

N. WOTTON.”^h

From a comparison of dates, it is clear that at one of the very entertainments just mentioned,

^e Louis de Nassau, who afterwards took a conspicuous part in opposing the tyranny of Spain.

^h Fland. Corr. St. P. Off. This letter having received injury from damp, certain words are become illegible, which I have attempted to supply within brackets.

the following incident occurred. The anecdote is told by Strada, in his history of the Low-Country wars. "The Emperor, [Maximilian II.] by edict, prohibited and made it death for any German to bear arms against the King of Spain: which, among divers others, how deeply it was resented by the Prince of Orange, (though otherwise subtil and close,) he expressed at table, wine laying open the secrets of his heart. For being invited by Gresham, (agent for the Queen of England,) after he had drunk soundly, the Prince began in great fury to inveigh against the Emperor's edict: 'that the emperor, and the King, and whosoever was of their opinion, deceived themselves; that not only the Germans would take arms, but a great sort of other nations bordering upon the empire; that the Danes, the Swedes, and many others would not be wanting, which both would and could help the confederated Low-Countrymen.' Thus threatening in his rage, after supper he was mollified by a song."ⁱ One can picture to one's self 'grave Gresham,' who could "very ill away with dryncke,"^k obtaining from the prince in his cups the intelligence which he knew would be most

ⁱ De Bello Belgico, &c., translated by Sir R. Stapylton, fol. 1650, book v. p. 133.—The habitual taciturnity of the Prince of Orange, had earned for him the *soubriquet* of 'Silence.'

^k Vide *anteà*, vol. i. p. 143.

welcome to his friend Cecil, on his return to England.

Once more arrived in London, Gresham seems to have altogether relinquished the management of his affairs in the Low Countries to Clough, whose correspondence about this period is extremely voluminous and circumstantial. Every letter narrates some novel event, or communicates some fresh piece of intelligence illustrative of the spirit and temper of the times; forming altogether a running commentary, as it were, on the history of the period. Several of these passages stand in no need of illustration, and require merely to be read in chronological order to be understood.

“As for occurrents,” writes Clough on the 20th of October, “the tyme ys here very troublesome, and lykely to increase; for that, on Thursday last, there was a new commotion or business begun agayne in thys towne, and [it] came by thys means. Appon Wednesday last past, there was carryd into Our Lady church (as yt ys said) two cart loads of shott, or great pelatts, which caused the comyn pepell to think that the papysts had some matter in hande: as also the same daye, the Lorde of Hoogestraate had bene in the church and heard mass, which much offendyd the comyn pepell also. But whether it

was for these matters or other, on Thursday, about 5 of the clocke, there gatheryd about 4 or 5000 pepell about the church; and about 6 of the clocke, (beyng dark,) they gotte a great ladder and runne at the dore, and brake yt open; and so enteryd into the church, and brake downe agayn *that* the prysts had made up: and so remayned there tyll about ii of the clocke. And amonxt other a gentyllman, one Barlamontt, a dweller in thys towne, came into the church, (beyng dronkyn,) and coming amonxt the raskalls, axyd them an if they had no cappytane; and they said—‘No,’ and required him to be their capityne; whereunto he consented, and drew out his sworde, and begun to hew and break downe *that* was new made. And havyng broken his sworde with hewyng, [he] toke hys man’s sworde and brak yt also. Wheruppon, some that were his friends bade hym gett hym awaye, for that he was markyd: wheruppon he went home, and went to his bed.

“So that thys rumour duryd still, and increased; wherupon the Lords gathered all their bands of men of war together, and Captain Breghtt in a rediness uppon the great markett, was commandyd to enter the church, and either to take or to kill them that were within the church, and all the rest should follow;

which he so dyd. And in the entering of the church, being well harnessed, he was overthrown, but nott hurt; so that, in fyne, he was master incontyrent after he enteryd: and in the entry, as it was said, 2 were slaine and about 24 taken; but the rest eskapyd,—some out of the windows, and the rest let willingly pass; and they that were taken, [were] carryd to the Town-house. So that the gentyllmen, and 5 more, were hangyd on Friday in the morning; whereat was much adoo amonxt the commons; but, in fine, all ceased, and for the rest, it is thought they should be punished, and after, banyshed.”¹

On the 3rd of November, we read: “The Regent went of late a pylgrimage to a Lady called oure Lady of Halle, where she made much ado, and used many cerymonies; but being returned from thence the next day, the pepell arose and brake all in pieces, both within the church and without. Wherewith the Regent was much offendyd; but [there is] no remedy [for it] but pasience.”

“On Sunday last past, there came a precher to a town here callyd Allst, (where most of the hopps groweth,) viij myles from Andwerpe; and, comyng there, wolde have prechyd fast by the towne. Whereupon the offysers of the towne

¹ October 20, 1566.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

commandyd hym not to preche there, and appointed him another place, further from the towne: *that* notwithstanding, he went forwards with his sermone; and having done, and being at dinner, the bayly of the towne tooke hym and carryd hym to prisone, and 4 more of his company. And on Friday last, (being Allhalowe daye,) after that the high mass was done, the precher was hangyd: and as yesterday, it was appointed that the other 4 should be hangyd,—which matter ys very ill taken amonxt the commons; so that it is doubtful that more business will follow.”^m

A fortnight later, Clough writes: “Here ys a grey frere that cometh out of France, who hath great resort of Spaniards and Italians, as also many papists of this town; and he preacheth in all points contrary to the protestants,—affirming the mass, porgatory, pardons, and pillgramage; insomuch [that] one day he said,—‘You must believe that there ys a porgatory; for and if there be nott a porgatory, I do give the devell myself!’ So that whereas he was well lyked of some before, they do now much mislike him: notwithstanding, there cometh many pepell to hys sarmone. But he ys the greatest lyer that ever I heard; for and if he do alledge x chapters for his purpose, 2 are not trewe; and [have been] so provyd, dyvers times.

^m Nov. 3, 1566.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

“ So that, in fyne, the matter resteth here, in my judgement, after this sort,—that and if the nobles do falle with the king, (whereof is some doubt,) then all is lost that they have done ; and the kyng wyll have his wyll. But and yf the nobles do holde with the commons, (as most men judge they wyll,) then let the king come with what power he wyll, it wyll be but lost labour. So that the matter resteth at this point. Yett I am of opinion that the nobells wyll take part with the commons, for dyvers causes: one, for that they were the beginners themselfes in putting downe of the Inquisition and placarts; and not that, but it is well knowne that they met not so oft [ever so often] at Breda, and in other places, where they causyd the hyring chaines to be made, and wore them about their necks: as also, that they do give all the sheaf of arrows to their badge, and all one colour of livery. So that, no doubt, but when time serveth, they wyll shewe themselves what they are; and as they are now in the favour of the commons, and can lack for no monny on this side, and [are] sure of men enough out of Germany when they wyll, (although the king be denied). And one thing, as principall, they do well knowe ;—that and if the kinge came with power, and were Master, they should all be in danger of losing of their heds, for matters past;

and not that but the kyng wolde take from them all their privileges, wherewith they have long brydled both hym and hys Father : and not *that* [alone,] but possibelly place the Inquisition and Placarts again, and set in Spaniards for their governors. So that, so far as I can perceive, it standeth at this point,—that either the king must come quyetly, and commit all to the states of the lande ; or else, to be sure, either to lose hys country, or at the least to have hys country utterly destroyed. But I believe he wyll come friendly, and not otherwise ; for else he shall have agaynst him so well the papists as the protestants : for that here are books cast abroad, declaring the inconvenience that may come and if he enter with power. So that presently, all is quiet.”^a

It had been the policy of the King of Spain for a long period, to fill his subjects in the Low Countries with the expectation of seeing him shortly once more among them : and with the single exception of the Prince of Orange, every one, including the regent herself, was the dupe of the deccitful monarch, whose real intention was thus to prepare the minds of the people for the reception of a ruler,—the Duke of Alva, whom he had already determined setting over the Low Countries as his representative, with unlimited power.

^a Nov. 17, 1566.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

Clough's commentary on the probability of a visit from Philip, was as follows. "Some men are in doubt that the king shall have enough to do in Spayne, although he came not here; for that, presently, the Frenchmen have takyn the Iland of Madera, and do kepe it; and it is thought they wyll take the Canarys also; which if they do, it shall be such a loss to the king, that, rather than to lose them, he must put his whole countrie in inventer, [adventure]. And not only [that, but] the Ile of Madera, which apperteyneth to the King of Portygall, is of such importance, that it must be had again; for else the Spaniards shall not be able to traffyke to the Indyas: so that I do much doubt that the King of Spaine shall not want business this next summer. For, as they write from Constantinobell, the new Turk hath appointed a great army to be made for the seas; at the least 200 galleys. So that, when God will, he can defende and helpe his pepell."°—Philip never returned to the Low Countries, nor had ever seriously entertained the intention of so doing.

The following anecdote in a letter from Clough, dated the 1st of December, is replete with the spirit of the time at which it was written. "We have news here, that the Duke of Cleves hath

° Nov. 17.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

commandyd throughout all his country, no mass to be said upon a great payne, till further order be taken. *That* notwithstanding, the duchess, his wife, (contrary to his commandment) had a mass secret [ly] in her chamber; wherewith the duke was much offendyd: insomuch that he causyd hys horses to be made redy, and sayd he wolde keepe no more house with her, and that she should not see him in [for the space of] one month. He said that he knew well that God was offendyd with him, in suffering *that* Idolatry in his country so long, wherein he knewe that he dyd offende God; and that now, he wold suffer it no longer, lest God should plague him, as He lately dyd; and that when he wolde forbyd it, God might take his speeche from him, as He did of late. For about one month past, the Duke was stricken with the hand of God lame and dumb; so that he had neither hande, foote, nor tongue: and during that tyme, he made such business with his head, and otherwise, that all men thought that he should never have recovered it. The meaning whereof was, as he now sayeth, to have had them to have put away that Idolatry out of his country.”^p

Such was the unsettled aspect of affairs in the Low Countries at the close of the year 1566; to

which we have perhaps been led to devote a disproportionate space, not so much from choice as from necessity : for it is the fate of antiquarian biography, that it cannot select its materials ; but must be content with those which Time has spared, and Opportunity placed within its reach. Reviewing the correspondence of the last six months, owing to the scarcity of letters from the pen of Sir Thomas Gresham himself, (the necessary consequence of his residence in London,) we are able to say little respecting his occupations, in addition to what has been already stated. Such of his notes as exist among the State-Papers, written about this period, are almost all dated from Gresham-House, where he had probably come to reside ; abandoning Osterley for a season, in order to be near the Bursc, then newly commenced in Cornhill. As might be expected, little is to be gathered from documents such as these, which are mostly on ephemeral business, and generally allude to the progress of some financial operation. Some slight notice, however, they seem to deserve. In one, Gresham begs Cecil “to have my friend Mr. Manwode in remembrance ; and the warrant for iiii buckes, and one stag, that heretofore I have molestid you withall.”^a The person here

^a “From my house in London,” June 20, 1566.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

patronised, was the celebrated Justice Manwood ; and the venison was probably for the mercers' feast. The week after, when, according to custom, he sent the secretary some letters which he had just received from Clough, he informs Cecil : "I have written to Cloughe for the provision of ii roos,^{*} if they be ther to be gotten, and have given order they shal be larded and baken according to your desier : as also gambons of baken, sassegis of bolloinai [Bologna,] and salt tonges.—Other, I have not to molest you withall ; but that I have sent you a rynge with your armes, which I praye you weare for my sake."^{*}

It has been already remarked, that Gresham was frequently requested by the English nobles to procure for them at Antwerp luxurious articles of foreign manufacture, which either our native artisans were less skilful in producing, or which, as at the present day, it was fashionable to prefer

^{*} This word I am altogether at a loss to explain ; unless *roes* is intended.

^{*} London, June 27.—Ibid. Clough replies,—“ And for syche thyngs as you wrote me to provyde, to saye : 2 wylde bores, and 2 roose, I have provyded one wylde bore and 2 roose, weche ar all bacone ; with x greatt gambons, which I do mene to sende you overlande tomoro, with all syche other thyngs as I have provyded : wherebye, I wyll wryte you att large.”—Ibid. The endorsement of this, and many of Clough's other letters, is in the hand of Sir William Cecil ; “ 10 Julii, 1566, Clough to Sir Tho^o Gresham.”

of foreign fabric. In the present chapter we have had examples of this, in Clough's letter to Sir Thomas on the subject of the Earl of Ormond's wainscot and glass ; and in Gresham's letter to Queen Elizabeth respecting the 'rollers' for her 'head pieces of silke.' Another instance is supplied in the anxiety testified by Gresham to gratify Cecil with paving-stones,—apparently for the hall of his mansion at Burleigh, which was at that period in progress of erection. In reply, as it would seem, to a letter on this subject, Clough wrote on the 20th of October, "As yet, Master Secretary's pavyng-stones are not come ; but Henryke sayeth he knoweth well they wyll be here within a daye or two at the furthest. Which, when they come, I wyll not faile to sende them awaye out of hand ; although I should hyre a small hoye of purpose, and a man [to convey them] withall."* We continue to read, in November : "As yet, Master Secretary's stones are not come ; which maketh Master Henryke almost out of his wytt, for I never faylle [a] daye, but I am once a day with him for them ; so that they cannot be long, unless they be drownyd by the waye."† They arrived at last to the great satisfaction of all parties, and Henryke sent "a patron how

* Ant. Oct. 20, 1566.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

† Nov. 10.—Ibid.

they shuld be layd.”^w “Being glad that the stones for Master Secretary are arrived with you in safety : and for the toche-stone you sende me, I cannot wryte you answer by this my letter ; for that both Henryke and Florys are both out of the town. But and if they will deliver them in London, redy hewed, at 2s. the foote, it wolde not be dear : as by my next I wyll wryte you more at large.”^x

Speaking of Henryke in another place, Gresham tells Cecil : “As for Henricke, you shall find him so reasonable as you shall have good cause to be content ; and bie this post I have geven order for the making of your galirie, which I trust shall bothe like you well, in price and workmanship.”^y This gallery of Flemish manufacture was doubtless designed also for the mansion at Burleigh ; as well as “the wagon and cherys” [chairs] which Clough promised to send from Antwerp as soon as they were completed.^z

Lady Gresham is alluded to in the following passage in one of Clough's letters written at this period. “I do perceive that you had recevyd myne by our post, in good order ; and that my

^w Nov. 24.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

^x Dec. 1.—Ibid. For an explanation of *toche*, vide *suprà*, p. 148.

^y Gresham-House, Aug. 21, 1567.—Ibid.

^z To Sir T. G., Ant. Sept. 7, 1567.—Ibid.

Lady doth lyke well of that I do sende hyr : hopyng that it is come safely unto hyr hands before thys. And as touching the perle, it shall be good, or ells I wyll not buy it.”^a Her husband’s commissions were for objects of a more substantial description. “I do understand by that your letter,” says Clough, “what provision you wyll have made against Lent; and that you wyll have your gowns furred, before I shall sende them awaye: which shall be so done.”^b In another place he writes, “The apparell, and all other thyngs you wrote for, shalle be sent away out of hande: understandinge by your Master-sheppe’s, that the card and boke I sent you were delivered to Master Secretary, but there had bene of the same presentyd to the Quene’s Majestie before :”^c alluding to an enclosure in one of his previous letters. Clough often forwarded to Gresham for the use of ‘Master Secretary,’ maps, plans, and the slighter ephemeral publications, which about this time issued in such abundance from the presses of Antwerp and Brussels.

What follows, seems to have been occasioned by the Earl of Sussex’s approaching embassy to Vienna, of which more will be said hereafter. “And for the perles for my Lorde of Sussex,

^a Nov. 10, 1566.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

^b Nov. 17.—Ibid.

^c Oct. 20.—Ibid.

I cannot fynde in all thys towne so many as my Lorde wolde have, and to match with his; for that his are very faire for the fashion. And in some places where I have found 2 or 300 of that fashion, I cannot fynde 20 that wold lyke my Lorde; and yett they wyll not be given for 5s. So that I have made Brokers to seke out so many, an if they be to be had in all this towne: whereof I wyll wryte you by my next.

“I have also received with that your letter the sapphire, which hath bene very ill handled: notwithstanding, I have caused it to be set again; but, [as] yet, [it is] not delivered.”^d

Neither from the bulky despatches of Clough, written about this period, nor from the briefer notes sent by Sir Thomas from Gresham-House to Sir William Cecil ‘at the court,’ do we derive much information beyond that which has been already laid before the reader: some few passages, however, seem well deserving of preservation. The following, for instance, in which Clough expresses his anxiety to see a great financial measure carried, reflects credit on the writer’s sagacity and good feeling: “Sir, you shall do well to put Master Secretary in remembrans now in this parliament, for order to be taken for some reasonable interest betwene man and man; which I take should be

^d Dec. 1, 1566.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

more commendabell before God, than as the matter ys now usyd. And that being done, (so that there might good assurance be had,) I would not doubt but that there would be more monny found in London than in Andwerpe, whensomever the Queene's Majestie should have need."*

We are also informed that the King of Sweden, one of Elizabeth's suitors, of whom some mention was made in the last chapter, availed himself of Clough's agency to address the queen. "Here was brought me this morning a letter to be sent to the Queene's Majestie, which seemed to be from the King of Swedone; but he that brought me it, colde not tell who brought it to towne, nor whereabout it was: so that I have refused to receive it till I do understand further of the matter."† After a few weeks, however, the letter was sent, having been put into Clough's hands by "Harry Isam, treasurer to our Company,"—that is to say, the company of the Merchant-adventurers at Antwerp; and Gresham forwarded it to Cecil from Gresham-House on the 14th of November, together with the letter from which the last extract was derived: thus explaining the circumstance of that letter's preservation.

Sir Thomas Gresham, through the agency of his servant at Antwerp, became the medium

* Oct. 20.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

† Id.—Ibid.

through which the most important continental despatches of the period passed. When, in the course of a few months, the Earl of Sussex set forth on his interesting embassy to Vienna, it was through Gresham that every communication between that nobleman and the government, as well as between him and his private friends, found its way. Another correspondence, which becomes very voluminous about this period, and which might prove of great historical importance,—that of Mr. John Fitzwilliams, governor of the company of English merchants at Antwerp, with Sir William Cecil,—was conducted through the same channel, at Fitzwilliams' particular request.* It was probably deemed the safest and most expeditious method of communication. In August 1566, Clough enclosed to Gresham, "letters from the Lorde of Pembrock and other that came from

* This was in September, 1566. Concerning Fitzwilliams' descent, see vol. i. p. 350. He died in London, a parishioner of Little St. Bartholomew's, (in which parish-church he desired that he might be buried,) in April or May 1571,—his will (which is very uninteresting) having been made on the 13th of the former month, and proved exactly one month after. His mother's name was Alice; he had a brother Thomas (father of John and Elizabeth Fitzwilliams) and a sister Katharine. His daughter and heiress Susan, married John Seylyard; and dying in May 1592, left three children,—Richard, John, and Mary. Holney, quire xxvi.—The name of Seylyard seems to have been something more than respectable in Suffolk. See Gage's History, Thingoe Hundred, *passim*.

Master Edward, his son ”^h Those ‘other,’ as we learn from a note of Gresham’s, consisted of “Letters from Mr. Maig the Queene’s Majestie’s ambassador in Spaine, and a letter for Sir N. Throckmorton from my Lorde of Pembroke’s son in Italy.”ⁱ A few months later, Clough forwarded “letters to the Erle of Pembroke and Lord Lumley, from Milan, from my Lorde of Arundel and Mr. Herbert.”^k This was Henry Fitz-Alan, last Earl of Arundel; who having proposed for the hand of Queen Elizabeth and experienced a refusal, had left England in 1565 for the Continent, where he remained some years. [†] Lord Lumley was his son-in-law. “Mr. Herbert,” afterwards Sir Edward of Powis Castle, was second son to the celebrated Earl of Pembroke, who together with Dudley Duke of Northumberland, had patronised Gresham at the commencement of his career.

From the notes dated at Gresham-House, we occasionally obtain an insight into the writer’s official occupations and mode of life. We are reminded, by the orders he received in August to pay 498*l.* 15*s.* “to two men of whom the Lord Deputy of Ireland had borrowed it,”^l that just at

^h Aug. 11.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

ⁱ London, Aug. 18, 1566.—Ibid. ^k Ant. Nov. 17.—Ibid.

^l The Queen to Sir T. G., Aug. 30, 1566.—Ibid.

this period, Ireland was torn by civil and religious dissensions; and that an English army was maintained there at a vast expense, for the sake of enforcing order and obedience. On the 13th of September he was ordered to pay certain moneys “to William Wynter and Edward Bush [?] for the use of Ireland;” and “to pay over money to the Marquis of Winchester [the Lord Treasurer,] for the payment of merchants of Newcastle, who had lent to the Treasurer of Berwick.”^m But the following incidental notice is more to our taste. ‘The Duke’ must have been Thomas Duke of Norfolk; the same who, six years after, paid the penalty of his treasonable practices with Mary^q Queen of Scots, on the scaffold. “Other I have not to molest you withal, but that the Duke’s Grace hath invited himself to Gresham-House upon Wedensdaye next at night, and wyll dyne with me upon Thursday. Wishing to God you were in such helth that I might have you there; whiche wolde be noe smalle comfort unto me.

“Thus I most humblie take my leve. From London, the xvth of December, 1566.

At your honnors commandment,

THOMAS GRESHAM.”ⁿ

^m The Queen to Sir T. G. Sept. 13.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

ⁿ London, Dec. 5, 1566.—Ibid.



MAYFIELD PALACE. A RESIDENCE OF SIR THOMAS GRESHAM.

CHAPTER VI.

[1567 to 1570.]

THE REFORMED CHURCH AT ANTWERP—RELIGIOUS TROUBLES—
GRESHAM AND THE POET CHURCHYARD—CLOUGH'S MARRIAGE
—ARRIVAL OF THE DUKE OF ALVA—SUSSEX AT ANTWERP—
EVENTS IN FLANDERS—LETTERS OF CLOUGH AND OF GRESHAM
—CARDINAL CHASTILLON—MEMORABLE RUPTURE WITH SPAIN
—CECIL AND GRESHAM—RICHARD CLOUGH—TRADE WITH HAM-
BURG—THE BURSE NAMED—DEATH OF RICHARD CLOUGH.



F more than ordinary interest are two of the earliest documents with which the State-Papers for the year 1567 present us; being addresses from the reformed church of Antwerp to Sir William Cecil and Sir Thomas Gresham; the former of whom in his high official sta-

tion, and the latter in his influential private capacity, the writers had reason to believe would be equally able and willing to assist them. Cecil they memorialized in Latin, but Gresham was addressed in French; very nearly to the same effect as the secretary, and in the following words:—

“ Monsieur,

“ Estants bien assureés, tant de vostre singulière et bonne affection qu’ avez tant au Royaume de Dieu et l’avancement de la pure prédication de la sainte parolle d’Iceluy, qu’au bien et prosperité du Pais Bas, nostre patrie,— n’avons faicts aucune difficulté de vous envoyer ce petit mot de lettre pour vous réquerir, et prier, tant affectueusement qu’il nous est possible, qu’il vous plaise tenir nos affaires de pandeça, pour recommandez vers la Majesté de la Royne; et semblablement vers les aultres Princes et Seigneurs du Royaume. Et ce, d’autant plus, que vous mesme avez esté spectateur du partie des noz affaires: et qu’ aussy avez, par la providence de Dieu, acquis tant de faveur et d’autorité, qu’on adjousterà foy (comme ausy la Rayson le veut) à vostre parolle; où, aultres, qui ne sont de semblable qualité seront, comme gens indignes de foy, meprisés. Nous sçavons, très bien, combien de faveur et credit qu’ avez vers sa Majesté:” they

did not doubt, therefore, that her good-will might be procured, if he would represent to her the fearful desolation which had befallen their country. It was threatened with ruin, they said, because a number of faithful and loyal men, who were ready at all times to render unto Cæsar his due, were prevented from fulfilling the other part of the injunction, and rendering unto God the things which are God's. In illustration of this statement, they sent Gresham a little book, (*livret*,) probably a short apology drawn up by the elders of their church; and to this they earnestly called his attention, beseeching him to give it a careful perusal. The misconduct of a few persons professing to belong to their body, they deeply deplored, (alluding probably to the riots which were noticed in the former chapter): but they were not to be judged by such acts, and remarked on the injustice of the many being made to suffer for the guilt of the few. Finally, they entreated that the reformed church might stand acquitted in his eyes of the misdeeds of its unworthy members; and that he would obtain the intercession of Queen Elizabeth in their behalf, that the ruin with which the Low Countries were threatened might be averted; and that King Philip might be brought to accede to their reasonable request,—of which they sent him enclosed a copy. It was a

humble prayer for liberty to worship God without molestation.

“ Or, d'autant que sçavons très bien que vous entendez mieux que ne sçaurions exprimer par parolles, les calamités, et consequences dangereuses, au prejudice des autres pays, lesquelles ensuyveront la ruine apparente de nostre patrie, —si Dieu par sa bonté et le moyen de gens de bien ne la detourne; que le bien universel, lequel est tout evident en cas que les Pays Bas demeurent en leur entier,—ne ferons plus ample discours : nous rapportans à vostre prudence, et bonne affection. Ains, priérons seulement, pour conclusion, qu'en cas que vous estimez qu'il soit expedient que nous envoyons légation expresse vers sa Majesté, ou fassions quelque autre chose utile et necessaire pour impétrer ce que dessus,—il vous plaise le nous faire entendre par un petit mot de lettre : et, non seulement le ferons de toute diligence, ains nous resentirons obligés de plus en plus à prier Dieu qu'il vous donne accroissement en tout heure; et, finalement, par sa grace, la jouissance de la vie eternelle.—Où sera Monsieur l'endroit que nous ferons fin à la présente; prians Dieu qu'il luy plaise vous tenir en sa sauvegarde. D'Anvers, le premier de Fevrier : l'an 1567.

“ Les très affectionés serviteurs de vostre Seig-

nieurie, les Deputés de l'Eglise reformée d'Anvers,

MARCUS PEREZ. NICOLAS CELLIN.

CAROLUS BOMBERGUS. JEHAN LE CARLIER."^a

HERMANUS VANDER MEERE.

FRANCHOIS GODIN.

Such was the address of the Protestants of Antwerp to Gresham, on the 1st of February, 1566-7. Their letter to Cecil, bearing date a day earlier, is very similar in effect, and was forwarded to its destination by Gresham on the 8th of February, together with the letter which he had himself received. Writing "from Gresham-house, this

* Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.—The letter to Cecil, (which is subscribed by the same persons,) may be thus briefly analyzed: the writers, so few in number, on whom the burthen of maintaining the doctrines of the reformed church fell, impressed with their own insufficiency, regretted and apologized for having delayed their application for so many months. They had drawn up and now forwarded a brief recital of the progress of recent events in Flanders; by which they trusted that Cecil would both recognise the justice of their cause, and undertake its protection: and they defended themselves against the imputation of rebellion, with which they had been unjustly charged, &c. Their request was two-fold, 1. That Cecil would be their protector against the accusations of malicious and ignorant men. 2. That by his good offices, the queen might be brought to intercede in their favour, and avert from them the wrath of the Regent and King Philip. Finally, they drew a touching picture of the calamities by which they were threatened; and closed their address with requesting that the secretary would send them 'three words' of advice, if he had any to offer.

Saturday morning," in order to accompany these letters "from the doers and maintainers of God's word in Antwerp," Cecil's correspondent observed, that they were 'to the like effect and communication as the Prince of Orange had with him at his last being at Antwerp; which he had declared, at his last coming over, to the queen and the secretary.'—All we know of the result of this application is contained in the following extract from one of Gresham's despatches, written from Antwerp a few weeks after. "As this day, Marcus Pirus, one of the chief of the congregation, came unto me for their answer of the lettre that they did write unto you. I showed him your answer; and uppon that, he desired me, of friendship, to show him, if he or any of his friends wolde go into Englande, whether theie might lyve there in quietness and safety. I showed him, *yes*; and that there was many come over already for religion. So that, Sir, if this religion hath not good success in this towne, I will assure you the most of all this towne will come into England."^b The sequel does not appear; but on the 29th of March Clough writes,—“On Thoursdaye, in the afternoone, Marcus Perys departyd thys towne towards Breda; and from thense he wyll [depart] either for Germany or Englande. God be his

^b Ant. March 9, 1566-7.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

spede ! for he ys a worthe man, and a servant of God : and, as I do understande, hys wyfe shalle go with the Princess of Orange, when she goeth ; who thought to have departyd when she sent away hyr baggage, but nowe she stayeth.”^c

Soon after receiving this application from the reformed church at Antwerp, Sir Thomas Gresham proceeded in person towards that city. The loans which had been prolonged from February to August 1566, and again for six months from the last-named period, became due on the 20th of February ; and money having been taken up by Clough to facilitate their prolongation for the ensuing six months, Gresham left London in order to arrange matters finally with the creditors, and negotiate some additional loans. He wrote to Cecil from Canterbury on the 26th of February ; but his letter, (like many from the same pen of which no notice has been taken in these pages,) relates solely to matters of finance. On the following Friday he was expected to take his passage from Dover ; for a letter with the royal sign manual, bearing date the 28th of February, states :—
 “ And for your better and more suer passage, we have appoynted iij barks to mete you at Dover, on Fryday next ; to the Captaynes whereof, ye shall delyver our lettres : by meanes whereof,

^c Ant. March 9, 1566-7.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

they shall attend and safely conduct you (by God's grace) to Dunkyrk ; from whence ye shall, by land, carry our sayd treasure to Antwerp. In this carriage of our gold, ye shall use such circumspection for suerty and secrecy as to such a cause belongeth. And for your interteynment, our pleasure is that ye shall have your accustomed fee of xxs. by the daye, and vs. for your foore clerks until you returne." ^d

Sir Thomas arrived at Antwerp on the 2d of March, and on the 9th addressed Cecil at considerable length. Most important for the secretary was the writer's assurance that he had succeeded, although with the greatest difficulty, in accomplishing the object of his journey : but to us, the most interesting passage in his letter is the following, which besides treating of the contemplated alliance between Elizabeth and the Archduke Charles of Austria,—a subject much talked of at the time, and in which the queen herself seems to have taken considerable personal interest,—carries us back to the day when the news of Darnley's murder had only recently arrived in London. The particulars of that tragedy are too well known to require more than a passing allusion. Mary's attachment to Bothwell : the estrangement which had for a long time subsisted between herself and

^d Feb. 28th, 1566-7.—Lansd. MS. No. cii. art. 69.

Darnley: his sudden removal from Glasgow, on the 31st of January, to a private house in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, where, ten days after, he met a violent death,—these are events, which, involving as they do the question of the Scottish queen's guilt or innocence, have been as minutely canvassed as they have been frequently dwelt upon and illustrated by historians.

“The Prince of Orange,” says Gresham, “and the Counte of Horne had verie great discourse with me of the Quene's Majesty, and of her wise and grave government since she came to the crown, as otherwise; and that in all her time she had put no man to death. And out of this matter they asked ‘whether the marriage of Don Carollo went forward or not.’ I made them answer ‘that I was nothing privie to any of her proceedings that waies.’ Then said they,—‘We heard that the County of Sussex is coming over for to carry the garter, and to treat upon that matter.’ I said ‘there was such comunicacion in London, but I knew it not of a certainty.’

“Then the Prince asked me ‘whether it was trewe that the King of Scots was slaine;’ and I said ‘it was trewe.’ Then he asked me the manner, and *who* slew him. I told him and them, *that* was not certainly known, when that I came out of England. But I told them the manner how he

was slaine, and how nigh the Queene was unto his lodging when he was slaine, and that the Queene was with him that night. They asked 'where his guard was, and what company he had by him.' I told them 'his guard was long taken from him, and that he had but a mann and a paige lying bie him in that howse when he was slaine.'* Wher-upon grew together both the Prince, [the] County of Horne, and the County of Hoogestraate in counsell: and so I took my leve of them. And the Prince, with the others, desired me to do their most humble commendacions to the Quene's Majestie; and offred me all the curtesy that might be.

"As the vith day, the County of Horne and the County of Hoogestraate rode to Marklin again, to speak with the County of Egmont and others, to see if they could mittigate this matter of religione: and what shall follow, the Lord knoweth. But if they should banish the preching, and set up the religione, contrary to the fyrst agreement of the Prince with the congregation, againe, it is thought the whole towne will revolt. So that, Sir, I will assure your honnor, this towne is in

* This does not seem quite correct. The names of three of his servants are recorded: the corpse of one was found lying near that of the king, in the garden.—Turner's History of England, ed. 1829, vol. iv. p. 102, n. 8.

very hard case ; and happy is that man that is out of it.”^f

The same letter contains the notice of Pirus, or Perez, already given, and proceeds as follows :—
 “ Herewith, I send you a letter that Mons^r Broderod wrote to the Regent of the viijth of Februarie last ; and th’ aunswer that the Regent made therunto, the 16th of that present. Being credibly advertized bie my friends that she hath great watch over me, and of my proceedings of the Bursse, and what becomes of the money that I do take up ; for that it is put in her head that it is to relieve the Protestants : so that I am half afraid to go abroad.”

But the engrossing topic of the day was the religious struggle that was going forward. “ There is above xl m [40,000] Protestants in this towne,” said Gresham, “ which will die rather than the word of God should be put to silence.” On the 11th of March, he wrote to Cecil again ; and a third letter bears date March the 14th. The former of these commences as follows :—

“ Right honorable Sir,

“ It maie lyke you to understande, that as the ixth of this present, I wrote you of all things at large of the proceedings of the Regent. Since the which time, as I am credibly informed, here

^f Ant. March 9, 1566-7.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

hath beene a great counsell had by the Prince and the congregation, who hath offred him a great piece of money for to maintayne God's worde and the promise he made them : and *that* was, they shuld not be molestid with their religion and preching, untill the whole States of the lande had determined the matter. Now, what the Prince will do, I am not able yet to advertise your honnor ; but there is taken up of menn of warr in this towne. And as the xth day, there passed by this towne 4 Ansians^s of foote-men, being xii c men, verrie well armed, and lye within a Dutch mile of this towne ; whereas hath met them i c horsemen : and what horsemen and footemen do come, they do entertaine them and give them good wages. And as they go, they do break downe all the idols in the churches, and pay well for all things they do take. And their captaines was here daily with the Prince ; so that I can write your honnor as yet no certainty to what the Prince of Orendge will joyne unto : assuring you, if he do join with the congregation, it will be a busie piece of work." ^h

'The congregation' is the name by which the Protestants were designated in common parlance

^s An *ancient* is generally explained to be a *standard* or *banner* ; but it here evidently means a company of soldiers.

^h March 11.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

at the time the preceding letter was written. The following is dated the 14th of March :—

“ Right honorable Sir,

“ It may like you to understande that I sent you my last, the 11th of this present ; wherein I wrote you that the Protestants had gathered xii c men together, and laye within a mile of this towne. Since the which time, the Regent sent a thousand footemen and ii c horsemen [to oppose them] : and, as the xiiijth day, at v of the clocke in the morning, they joyned in battel together at a place called Osterwell, joyning hard to the river of Andwerpe. Whereas the Protestants were overthrowne, by the reason of ii ships of warre that came from Barrowe, [Bourbourg,] which shot so sore amongst the Protestants that they were faine to breake their array ; and the footemen being at flight together, the Regent’s horsemen entered upon the other, and put the Protestants to flight. For the truth is, the Protestants had no horsemen, and the captaines with the rest of the footemen took a church : so that, for truth, there was slaine of good soldiers of the Protestants’ side a hundred ; and fifty of the Regent’s side. Which battel endured from v of the clocke until x at noon. And so, the Regent’s bande retired, for feare that this towne of Andwerpe wolde have issued out upon them and to destroy them : which had

so beene, if the Prince, by pollicie, had not kept them in talke untill the Regent's men were past all danger. For, by x of the clocke, there was of the Protestants in armes and otherwise, about v m [5000] men; which wolde have gone out: wherein the Prince of Orendge was in great danger divers tymes to be slaine at the gates. For before he coulede come to the gates, they had broken up the postern, (which I saw with myne owne eyes); whereas issued above ii c gunners, with such a crie! saying *vive le gwuse*.ⁱ And, being without the gates, [they] put themselves in a rediness to march, standing there a whole houre for the coming out of the rest of their fellows: and understanding that the Prince was at the gates, and certaine Lordes of the towne, with Marcus Pirus, (who is the chiefest of the congregation,) perswadid with them and the rest, that forasmuch as the battel was done, and the Regent's men retiring, within an English mile of the towne, (whereas they might see them,) and being past their danger, and they having footemen and horsemen together, and might leave and take at their pleasure; and the other having no horsemen, they would all be destroyed. Wheruppon they retired into the towne againe, crying out that the Prince and the Lords had betrayed

ⁱ *Vivent les gueux*. Vide suprà, p. 128. note h.

them : and drew into a place called the Maire, and other great markt-places. So that, by one of the clocke in the afternoone, there was up about xx thousand men of the Protestants ; of the which there was chosen by good captens x thousand, well armed. And the first thing they did, they got the most part of the ordinaunce in the towne, (saving that which was in the Town-house) ; being cannone, d. d. [demi?] canons, and culverins ;^k and besettid every street with wagons, and with a cannon, or ii d. d. canons at the least. So that, by iii of the clocke, they were in order of battell ; and sent the Prince and the Lordes of Andwerpe word that they wolde no more trust them, and that they wolde have the keeping of the keys of the Town-house, and the towne : or else they wolde shoot down the said Town-house over their heads, and kill them all.

“The Lords being in the Town-house, and having ii M [2000] footemen in the markt-place and in Our Lady’s church-yarde for to defend them, finding themselves not able to resist the commons, (whereas the Prince and Mons^r Hoogestraate, with other noblemen and gentlemen, were divers times with them to persuade the commons,) were faine to come to communication : and

^k A *culverin* was a piece of ordnance about 5½ inches diameter in the bore, carrying a ball of 18 lb.

by v of the clocke at night, they agreed that the Burgesses should have the keeping of the keys of the towne ; and that they should preche and live to their owne conscience, (according to the 1st contract that was made betwixt him and them,) until the States of the land had otherwise determined. And at this instant there was chosen xii captains of the Protestants ; and for the overseeing of these captains, they have chosen Mons^r Devilliers and Mons^r Colbocke,—which be counted 2 of the best captains that be in all this country, and Protestants for their lyves. And this Mons^r Devillers was alwaies generall for the County of Egmonde, and [is] a gentleman of a very good howse ; which may spend above ii m *li.* [2,000*l.*] land a-yere.”¹

The preceding letter is inserted, because it seems to afford a more apt and forcible illustration of the temper and spirit of the times in which it was penned, than could have been obtained by an abridged narrative of the same events, gathered from printed books. Nor can I afford to dismiss the subject yet ; for Thomas Churchyard,—that brave soldier, and excellent old English poet,—in one of his numerous prose works, has left so interesting and apposite an account of the stirring incidents of that memorable day, that, as the nar-

¹ Ant. March 14, 1566–7.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

rative of another eye-witness, room must be found for it also.—It should be remembered that Oster-vell, where the battle was fought, is a little village so close to Antwerp, that, according to Strada, ‘the citizens’ (who had run to the walls on hearing the thunder of cannon hard by the town) ‘were able to distinguish the ensigns of both armies displayed along the river-side; and almost heard the cries, both of those that charged, and those that fell.’ The clamour and excitement of a dense population like that of Antwerp, thus made to witness, as if they had been spectators in a theatre, a scene of blood in which every one felt himself personally interested, may be imagined, but it would be difficult to describe it. Now for Churchyard’s narrative.

“The common people of Antwerpe standing on their walles, and beholding this murther and massacre, began to murmur at the matter, and so burst out in open words of malice, and swore to revenge the bloudshede they behelde of their brethren and countrimen: wherupon a common crie was sodainely raised throughout the streetes of *Vive le geuxe*, [and] all the people arming themselves in everye parte of the citie, came running to the *Mear Broeg*, a wide and large streete, adioyning to the Burse. When they had assembled together to the number of ten thousand shotte, and

armed menne, they determined to march out of the towne, and meete Monsieur Beavoy, as hee returned from Austreviel. But in the market place was assembled twelve Auntients of the Regent's side, who had the keyes of the gates, and so kepte the people from their purpose a little season. But the multitude was so greate, and the people swarmed so thicke in every place, that the Regente's power in the market place were faine to drawe the cannons from the walles, and gather theyr friendes together from all partes of the citie; and having a greate power, all in one place, they chardged all theyr cannons and greate peeces with haile shotte, and dydde fortifye themselves in the market place verye stronglye.

“The nighte before, one Capitayne Bright, and Capitayne Marya an Italian, hadde broken all the bridges and passages that the people of the citie shoulde have gone over, or have hadde anye passage at; whiche was done uppon some suspition they had conceived of a revolt. The people being with this and other occasions made angrie, and brought in a rage, beganne furiouslye to go aboute the walles, and kepte together by thousandes and multitudes, the number whereof coulde not easilye be knowne: but they were judged in all to be five and twenty thousande able men; and yet, among them hadde they no speciall cap-

taine, nor any that woulde take uppon him to shew what was necessarie to be done, in this their extreame hazard and danger.

“ The Prince of Orange, the Count de Horne, the Count de Hostraed, Monsier Decaerdes, [and] all the nobilitie being afraide to offende the King with an open revolte, did perswade the Regent’s power to make peace with the people; and aboute that perswasion they spent three long houres. But the Regent’s power being experimented soul-diours, woulde lose no occasion to conquere their enimies. And on that pointe they stooode so stiffelye, that they determined presentlye to gyve the commoners a battell, and trie oute the matter by sworde, and not by sweete persuasions. And to performe the same, they sette all in order, and were readye to marche into the citie, and meete with the people, as by fortune they mighte any waye encounter them.

“ The Prince and the nobilitie, muche grieved with this bloudye resolution, repaired towardes the people, and tolde them all the matter, and willed them to goe to their owne houses, and he would see that all thinges should be wel ended. The people liked no whit that councell, and gave the Prince evil wordes, and a greate number of them burst into my lodging. *And bycause the Prince hadde made of mee before, (and that they*

knew I hadde served in the Emperoure's dayes,) they called me forth, and saide I shoulde be theyr leader; whiche thing I refused as far as I durst, alleadging, I was ignoraunt of such affayres: whereupon, they bent theyr pikes on me in a greate furie. I, beholding the extreamitie I was in, gave them my faith; and so came into the streete amonge the reste of their companye,—where I was so received, as fewe woulde have beleevd the manner thereof, but suche as had seene it:—Witnesse Sir Thomas Gressam.”^m

Churchyard's narrative, notwithstanding the disadvantage of style under which it labours, has the charm of a poet's prose, in setting the scene vividly before one:—the terrified populace,—the infuriated soldiery,—the alarmed governors of the towne: without the walls, a battle raging; and within, the tumult of a battle without its bloodshed. Lastly, and certainly not least interesting, we are presented with the soldier-poet; in the group surrounding whose lodging, Gresham, clad in black, is easily recognisable,—wondering what was next to ensue, and heartily longing to exchange that turbulent scene for the repose of Intwood, or Osterley.—There fell at this battle, (the first, says Strada, that was fought with the

^m A lamentable and pitifull Description of the wofull warres in Flanders, &c. 4to. 1578, p. 19.

Low-Country insurgents,) 1500 of the Gheuses ; and 300, who were taken prisoners, were put to the sword. Numerous were the contests of a similar nature which subsequently occurred ; but none were decisive, or calculated to promote the views of the assailing party. Gresham's next letter, dated March the 17th, completes the history of this, his last visit to Antwerp ; and is as follows.

“ Sir,—As the xiiiith daie, I wrote you of all the procedings of this towne at large ; which was a marvelous pcece of worke to see : for there was above xl thowsand menne up, of all sides. And as the Prince had agreed with the Calvinists, so they would not go downe untill they had their articles in writing : but continued upon a streete called *the Maire*, in order of battell, and in their armour, with their great brasse pieces of ordinance, untill the xvith daie at one of the clocke in the afternone. And the same daie, the Prince and the Lords had warned all this towne and nation to be in their armour and weapons by eight of the clocke, saving onlie our nation ; commanding them to kepe the English-house, and to be in armour, and that he would send us word howe all things passeth from time to time ; for that he would proclaime bie proclamation the articles whereunto they should trust, or else to have fought it out : for the Martinnists and the Pa-

pists grew all in one company together against the Calvenists.

“ As also, the Italians, Spaniards, and Portingales, joined together in battell arraie by themselves, against the Calvinists : likewise the Prince, and the Lordes of the towne joined together with the Prince’s bande, with as manie as they could get of the towne for the Kinge, against the Calvenists ; beinge in order of battell before the Town-house, and in Our Ladie’s church-yard. So that there was vi menne for one against the Calvenists, whiche they knewe well enough. And the Prince and all those that came against the Calvenists, had red scarfs : and about x of the clocke, the Prince and the Countie of Houghstrate came forthe with a hundred horsemenne, and proclaimed the articles wherunto they shuld trust, which I send youe here inclosed.” And, being once read, the Prince cried *Vive le Roye*, which was done first before the Town-house, and afterward amongst the Italiens, the Spaniards, and Portingales ; and so to the band of Martenists, and papists ; and his excellentie came last to the Calvenists : whiche articles he had not so soone read, but they did accept them, and cried with the Prince, *Vive le Roye*. Nowe, after all this, there

▪ The articles, covering five sides of writing paper, are pinned to this letter.

grew a contention betwixt the Calvenists, and the band of Italians, and Spaniards, who shuld first leave off their armour of these ij companies; and in the end, the Italians and Spaniards were faine to geve over first; for they were in number but ij thousand, and the other were in number xM at the least.

“ So that, Sir, by credible report of those that I sent abroad, there rose up, of all sorts, above fyfthe thowsand menne verie well armed; which were all downe, and in their howses, by iiii of the clocke in the afternoone. And not one manne slaine nor hurte in all this time within this towne synce my coming; and by five o’clocke in the afternoone all the great ordinaunce were carrid awaie into the store-houses, as though there had been nothinge donne in the towne: and now, [it is] in quiet, so long as it lasteth.

“ The lettre I sent you of the xiiiith, I was faine to conuaie it under the gate, and to hire a manne on the other side of the water to carrie it to Dunkerke to mie host Garbronde, to be conveyed to Dover to John Spritwell, the post; for there went not one man out, nor came in, since the xiiith daie. Now, Sir, howe the Regent and the court will take this business that the Prince and this towne have done, it is to be doubted [will] not [be] well: for that I am crediblie informed that the Regent hathe no greate trust in the

Prince's doings, and this town. Yet, I will assure your honor, the Prince verie nobly hath traveled, both night and daie, to kepe this towne from manne-slaughter, and from despoile : whiche doubtless had taken place if he had not been,—to the losse of xx thowsand men : for that I sawe never men so desperate, [and] willing to fight : and speciallie the Vallons [Walloons,] who joyned all with the Calvenists.

“Other, I have not to molest your honor withall, but that I doo intend tomorrowe to take mie leave of the Prince ; and, as the xixth daie, to depart this town, if I can by any meanes satisfy the Queene's Majestie's creditors for the delivery of the new bandes. Assuring your honor, I came over in a good time,—finding the reddie monney that I did : whiche is so bruited at the court, that the Regent and the court will not beleave but that it is to relieve the Prince ; and that I have conferred with him from the Queene's Majestie. And as there is no such thing, so, Sir, I have not spoken with the Prince but once since I came, when I dyned with [him.] From Andwerpe, the xvijth of Marche a° 1567.

At your honor's commandement,

THOMAS GRESHAM.” °

• Fl. Corr. St. P. Off. This letter is obviously dated according to the Flemish style ; and must have been written in 1566-7.

The writer of the preceding despatches probably fulfilled his intention of quitting Flanders two days after the date of his last letter; and there seems good reason for believing that he never returned to Antwerp again.

Clough remained behind, and resumed his correspondence. On the 29th of March he wrote a long letter descriptive of the progress of the troubles, and noticed the large number of wealthy persons who were preparing to fly the country. "Presently, it is marveylus to see how the pepell packe away from hens; some for one place, and some for other, so well the papysts as the protestants: for that it is thought that, howsomever it goeth, it cannot go well here.; for that presently, all the wealthy and rich men on both sydes, who shuld be the steý of matters, make themselves away." ^p The insecurity of property was in part the cause of this: it was partly occasioned by a certain degree of uncertainty, not unmingled with mistrust, as to the disposition and future intentions of King Philip: and not a little by a novel oath which was being administered to all classes, binding the juror to maintain the cause of the king against any person who should be convicted of *læsa majestas*; rather than subscribe to which, many of the most influential nobles and

^p Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

commons threw up their occupations or appointments, and departed out of the country. The Prince of Orange was at the head of these ; and it would have been well for Egmont and others had they taken the advice, and followed the example, of this consummate and clear-sighted politician. The Prince left Antwerp in April ; on the 9th of which month, Clough stated that there were 4 or 500 rich men ready to ride away with him.^a In truth, the retreat of the Counts Culembourg and de Bergh into Germany, and the final departure of the prince, led to the voluntary expatriation of a much larger number than this. A panic seems to have seized the people on thus finding themselves deserted ; and the rest of the nobles, as well as the most substantial burgesses throughout the country, prepared to follow the example which had been set them. So large a number fled, that the duchess wrote to King Philip that upwards of a hundred thousand persons had quitted the provinces.

The English Company were not without alarm. They had sent in a memorial, requesting to be informed by the regent what they were to expect for themselves :—"Whereunto," says Clough, "I do understand that she hath made answer by worde of mouth, but nott other ; which

^a April 9, 1567.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

ys, that as towching owre request, her answer ys that neither by hyr nor hyr's, wee, nor none other merchands shall not susteine neither hurt nor harme; and other, she hath not to say." ^r

An hiatus here occurs in Clough's correspondence. It seems that he had received injunctions to stay at Antwerp until the stone for the Burse,—which it had been promised should arrive at Easter,—should be finally shipped: for Gresham wrote to Sir William Cecil on the 16th of April, that he had desired his factor to come over "aftyр that he had dispatched all my provision of my stone for the Burse, and hym that hath tacken it in hand:" ^s but Clough had a delicate affair of a private nature to transact in North Wales, which must have rendered all other occupations distasteful to him; and made him particularly anxious, just at this juncture, to be in his Fatherland.

Our friend really had a marvellously expeditious method of transacting love, as well as business. He was residing at Antwerp as a bachelor, in the middle of April 1567: in less than three weeks, behold him returned from an excursion into Wales,—a married man, on a visit with his wife at Gresham-House; whence the

^r Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

^s Ibid.

following letter, announcing the event to the secretary, was written by his host.

“ Right honourable Sir,

“ It may like you to receive letters from my servant, and other of my frends, of the xxxist of the last, bie this bringer, mie servant Richard Cloughe ; who is preseantlie come out of Wales, and there married Sir John Salisburie's sonne's wief, and is here resident with me. So that I do intend tomorrowe to dispatche him over seas ; for the which, according to mie most bounde dewtie, I will give mie attendance to know what the Queene's Majestie's pleasure and yours is, for the paiment of her highness debts dewe in August next. And as for the viii m v c li. [8,500*l*.] dewe the xxth of this present, I have given order for the taking up of the same ; whereof I have received, according to the Quene's Majestie's warrant, i m li. a weke. I wolde have waited upon you long before this time, but that my wrenched legge would not suffer me ; as knowith the Lorde, who preserve you with increas of honnor. From Gresham House, the 6th of May, anno 1567.

At your honnor's commandment,

THOMAS GRESHAM.

“ Sir, at my being at Semppringgam, the Quene's Majestie commandyd me to buy a sworde,

set with dyamondes; which, at my comyng to Andwerpe, was sent to Frankfort, by the reason of the great brabling that was in Andwerpe. Which [sword] now ys returned, as by the party's letter you shall perceive; which, at my coming, I dyd no less declare to her Majestie,—[she] being then very desirous to have the sight thereof; which is now very easy to be compassed.” †

Clough chose for his wife that remarkable woman, Katharine Tudor, better known as Katharine of Berain,—sole daughter and heiress of Tudor ap Robert Fychan, Esq. of Berain, by the grand-daughter of King Henry the Seventh.* Of the charms of this celebrated lady, the numerous portraits of her, preserved in Wales, are indisputable evidence; and that she was gifted with corresponding powers of pleasing may be inferred from the circumstance, that when the death of Richard Clough had left her for the second time a widow, she became the wife of Morris Wynn of Gwydyr; after whose death she still had smiles left for a fourth and last husband, Edward Thelwall of Plâs y Ward, Esquire.

* Fland Corr. St. P. Off.—Concerning the writer's ‘wrenched legge,’ vide anteà, vol. i. p. 368. Sempringham, a village in Lincolnshire, has been already mentioned at p. 155.

† Besides this maternal descent from royalty, the Tudors of Berain traced their line to Owen Tudor, Henry the Seventh's grandfather.

The reader has been already introduced to this lady in the initial letter of the present chapter.

Tradition has been ill-natured enough to preserve an anecdote of the heiress of Berain, which, if true, however creditable to her charms, reflects no honour on her heart. Her first husband was John Salusbury, heir of Lleweni; at whose funeral, it is said, she was led to church by Richard Clough, and afterwards conducted home by the youthful Morris Wynn, who availed himself of that opportunity to whisper his wish to become her second husband. She is said to have civilly refused his offer; stating, that on her way to church she had accepted a similar proposal from Richard Clough: but she consoled Wynn with the assurance, that if she survived her second husband, he might depend on becoming her third; and she was not unmindful of her promise.*

However improbable the details of this story may appear, it is not difficult to show that in the main it must be correct: for, on a picture preserved at Lleweni of Sir John Salusbury the strong, (Katharine's son by her first husband,) it is stated that he was twenty-four years of age in 1591. His birth must therefore have occurred in 1567; and since in the space of three short weeks in the early part of the same year, his mother had

* Pennant's Tour in Wales, 1784, vol. ii. p. 29.

given her hand to Richard Clough, it seems not a little probable that the time which that lady allowed herself for mourning was as brief as that which her lover had allowed himself for courtship.

Clough returned with his bride to Antwerp immediately after the date of the letter last quoted, according to the intentions of the writer therein expressed: but never before had he returned to the scene of his duties when the prospects of the Low Countries were so gloomy as on the present occasion. How delusive had been the assurances of King Philip's approaching visit to his northern dominions, now became apparent: for although he still gave out that he was coming, the Duke of Alva, with an army of 20,000 men, was ordered to proceed towards Flanders; and it required little penetration on the part of the people to perceive, that whatever the professed object and intentions of this general might be, they were themselves in fact no longer a free people, but about to become the subjects of a military despot, invested with unlimited power, and attended by an armed force of the nation they hated the most. Sure of assistance from the Admiral de Coligny, and confident of a strong party in their favour in France among the Huguenots, it had been proposed to intercept Alva's army, and prevent him from ob-

taining an entrance into the provinces. To this design, Egmont, Horn, and others were privy: but the attempt was never made; and the duke arrived in Flanders, unwelcomed but unmolested.

That Clough bent his steps towards Antwerp in the first instance, on leaving London, does not rest on Gresham's statement alone; but is confirmed by a poetic authority, to be hereafter more distinctly mentioned. The same writer declares that, from Antwerp, Clough and his wife travelled into Spain: which may very well have been the case, and which serves to explain how it happens that no letters of Clough are extant bearing a date anterior to the month of July, 1567;—the interval, embracing a period of nearly three months, having been probably consumed in the excursion alluded to. Meantime, we are presented with a letter which suggests an interesting episode; and which proceeded from a more distinguished person than Richard Clough. This was Thomas Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex,—a nobleman whose name has had the singular fortune to descend to posterity unsullied, even by the calumny of evil tongues; and on which posterity itself has conspired to heap nothing but praise. A modern writer has thus gracefully summed up his character. “Wise and loyal as Burghley, without his blind attachment to the monarch;

vigilant as Walsingham, but disdaining his low cunning; magnificent as Leicester, but incapable of hypocrisy; and brave as Raleigh, with the piety of a primitive Christian;—he seemed above the common objects of human ambition, and wanted, if the expression may be allowed, those dark shades of character which make men the heroes of history. Hence it is, probably, that our writers have bestowed so little attention on this admirable person, who is but slightly mentioned in most historical collections, unless with regard to his disputes with Leicester, whom he hated almost to a fault.”* It would, perhaps, be found difficult to substantiate such a statement as this, to its full extent; but so bright a picture can afford to lose somewhat of its colouring: enough will still remain to render the original attractive, and to excite an uncommon interest in his actions and history.

The long-talked-of project for an alliance between Queen Elizabeth and the Arch-duke Charles of Austria, brother to Maximilian II. the reigning Emperor of Germany, had now become so far matured, that the Earl of Sussex was ordered

* Lodge's Illustrations, &c., vol. i. p. 367.—The materials in the State-Paper Office for an account of the embassy, of which a brief notice is here given, are most copious and interesting. Vide *suprà*, pp. 179, 180, and 182.

to proceed to Vienna in order to negotiate the treaty. Three of his letters written from that capital have appeared in print, but all the intermediate links of his correspondence remain hitherto unpublished. One of these,—the first,—in consideration of its having been written from Antwerp; and, above all, on account of the writer's connexion with Gresham,—incidentally revealed by the latter in a subsequent page,—shall be here inserted. It bears date, July the 5th, 1567.

His lordship addressed Queen Elizabeth herself, and communicated the circumstances of his arrival and entertainment. He had reached Antwerp on the 3rd of July, and proceeded to his lodgings in the English Merchants'-House (represented in Plate III,) where "Mons' de Symary, master of Hostell to the Regent, and governor of Macklyn" came and apologized for his poor reception. The earl informed De Symary that he had letters from the queen to the regent; whereupon, "this day," says the writer, "Counte Mansfyld, governor of this city, [Antwerp,] came with 3000 soldiers to conduct me to the court."

Very honourable was the reception which the regent gave her distinguished visitor. In the course of their brief conference, she pledged herself to do every thing in her power to con-

serve and increase the amity between the crowns of England and Spain; and when Sussex recommended, (being commanded by the queen,) the "favouring of the causes of the merchants, that so by their meanes there grew no unkindness between the Prince,"—a similar course to which Elizabeth intended to pursue with regard to the Low-Country subjects settled in England,—her Grace as readily promised compliance; and said, "for that yourself [the queen] and your progenitors have of long tyme found suche benefit in the ancient amyty, she thought neither of you would seke, or could so well trust, to a new amity in any other place; which she hoped should appere more openly upon the good success she looked for of my journey to the Emperor. And so, [she] brake off her talk to go to dynner; where her highness plyed me with carvyng of every dishe, and drinking to me every tyme she dranke.

"With such like talk she intertayned me ii or iii houres at after dynner; commending much your Majestie for the great gifts she heard God had bestowed upon you, and offering oftentimes her service to you; as gladde to have a meane whereby she might show how much she is affected to your Majestie. Which I told her was very well employed; for that your Majestie did requite her with the like affeccion towards her."

The regent expressed to Sussex her gratitude for the queen's concern at the late tumults and sympathy at their termination; and begged that she would not believe all she heard of the severities intended to be practised by the King of Spain; who, she had no doubt, would act with clemency towards his subjects. The remainder of Sussex's letter is as follows. It is either a courtier-like and characteristic trait that the writer should let it appear, as it were incidentally, that a portrait of his mistress was the companion of his wanderings; or he must allude to the portrait which he carried on behalf of Queen Elizabeth to the archduke. "Her highness had long talk with me of the matters of Scotland, (wherein I forbare to speake the worst): and, as she findeth it a harde case to have the subjects rise against their Sovereign, and take her prisoner; so doth she think that if either she were consenting to the death of her husband, or consentid to marry him that she knewe consentid to his death, and wolde not suffer justice to be executed,—God will not forbear punishment.^b

"In th' ende, she said she heard so moch of your Majestie by the Conte of Stolborg, as she

^b This allusion to Mary's passionate attachment to Bothwell, scarcely needs comment. See, however, Turner's *History of England*, vol. iv. p. 116.

desired moche to see your picture ; which with some travell she recovered. And for that it was drawen in blacke, with a hooде and a coronet, (which she perceived was not the attyre your Majestie now used to weare,) she desired me, if I had your picture, that she might see it ; for that I should do her a great pleasure to show her the picture of her, whose person she honoured and loved so much.

“ I answered, at the first, that the pictures commonly made to be solde, did nothing resemble your Majestie ; and forbare to answer her request, until she so earnestly pressed me as I could not denye the having of your picture : which she saw, with the Duchess of Askott, and the Countesse of Mansfelde, and certen other Lords and Ladyes. In whose presence Mons^r de Maldingham affirmed it to be so lyke unto you, as there lacked but speche ; and that he saw your Majesty, when he tooke his leave, in the same attyre. The Regent, with the rest, affirmed they saw thereby as much as they had heard of your person ; and wished they might also see and heare themselves *that* they heard by others of your qualities. Affirming, there was only one fault in your Majestie ; which was, with all these great gifts of God, to live sole, without a husbände.

“ When I had taken my leve, she willed the Duke of Askott and the County of Mansfelde to

accompany me, and to shewe me the towne : after the sight whereof, the Duke invited me to supper.

“ I have overlonge troubled your Majestie ; but for that her Highness did me so much honnor in respect of your Majestie, and that I finde her so moche affected towards you, (and assured of the like in you towards her,) I thought it my dewty to advertise you of *that* I founde : and therefore crave humbly pardon of your Majestie, if therein I have been over tedious.

“ Tomorrow, I intend (God willinge) to leave this citie ; and trust within xx^{tie} dayes to be at Vienna. In the mean tyme, I shall praye unto God to continew your Majestie in helth and all other things, to the contentment of your owne harte. From Andwerpe, the vth of July, 1567.

Your majestie's most humble, and faythful
subject and servant,

T. SUSSEX.”^c

“ To the Quene's moste Ex-
cellente Majestie.”

Count Stolberg and Mons^r de Maldeghen, whose names occur in the preceding letter, were ambassadors of the Emperor Maximilian, on their way back to the German capital ; having just returned from the court of Queen Elizabeth. The object of their visit had been to solicit the queen's assistance against the great Turk : but there were many good reasons why this request could not be

^c Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

complied with. To explain these, as well as to remove any disagreeable impression which the unfavourable result of the embassy might produce in Germany, was one of the objects of Sussex in his present journey: the other two being, to negotiate an alliance for Queen Elizabeth, as already stated, and to carry the garter to the emperor.

The companions of the earl on this interesting mission were Roger Lord North, Sir Thomas Mildmay, and Henry Cobham, Esq. one of the queen's pensioners. They had embarked at Dover on the 29th of June; and, as we have seen, had experienced an honourable reception at Antwerp, where they arrived on the 3rd of July. Of their journey thither, and of every thing they had seen worthy of note on the road, young Cobham sent the secretary an interesting account on the 6th: after which, we hear no more of the embassy, until it reached Ulm, in Suabia.

"Yesternight I came hither," wrote Sussex from the last-named town, on the 22nd of July; "and having th' opportunitie of an ordinary post passing this daye toward Antwerp, I thought to write these fewe lynes to you, whereby you might knowe how farre forward I am in my jorney. I intend, for the commoditie of the water, and shortening of my journey, to imbarke here; from whence I shall goo to Viena in vii dayes. I have had a longe and payneful jorney from Anwerpe,

hither, by wagon, and drawing of my boats against the streame on the river of the Rheyne, from Colene to Mayonce ; and have been forced, every day, to be in the wagon or the boat by the breake of the daye, and (saving dynner tyme) to travell till darke night : yet, thanks be to God, I and all my company have at all tymes had our helthes, without any distemper ; which hath been a great grace of God in so paynfull a travell, and so hot a tyme of the yeare, with a strange diet and drinke.”^d

From Ulm, the earl proceeded to Augsburg ; and then embarked at Donawert. But his further progress was impeded by an extraordinary flood ; for, in consequence of the large quantities of rain which had fallen, the Danube had overflowed its banks, and risen to a greater height than had been remembered for forty years,—drowning the villages along its sides, and carrying away, by the violence of its current, all the bridges : so that neither by land nor by water was travelling practicable. “ By this extremitie,” said the earl, writing from Vienna on the 9th of August,—“ I was forced to staye at Lynts, (xxxth leagues from Viena,) untill the water fell somewhat. And so, not without some perill, by the greatness of the water, (that contynued in such sorte, as the botemen, by reason of the great overflowing, could

^d German Corr. St. P. Off.

hardely know the coast of the river,) I arrived here with all my company, (thanks be to God!) in helth and saulfty, the vth of this present."

Leaving this interesting character to carry forward the object of his mission to the German capital, let us return to our old friend Richard Clough, who was now once more settled at Antwerp, a married man. Never before, as was observed a few pages back, had he returned to the scene of his duties, when the prospects of the Low Countries were so gloomy as at the present moment. The nomination of the Duke of Alva to the government of the provinces had increased the desertion of the principal inhabitants, and seemed a climax to their preceding ills: for the character of this nobleman was sufficiently known, though the depth of its iniquity was by no means appreciated, to make his arrival universally dreaded. This last stroke of Spanish policy served also to disclose the hollowness of Philip's promises, and to show the foulness of his intentions towards the Low Countries. His early efforts to quench the spirit of the people had proved unsuccessful. The expulsion of the troops he had left behind him, had been effected, as we have seen, at the unanimous instance of the commons: they had compelled his favourite minister, the Cardinal Granvelle, to withdraw himself: vehement oppo-

sition had been raised to the placards and the inquisition; and the people had finally taken up arms to defend their civil and religious liberties. Towards a state thus aggrieved and excited, common prudence would have dictated some conciliatory step on the part of an unpopular absent monarch. That flourishing commerce which, since the breaking out of the troubles, had been visibly declining; those industrious and densely populated towns, which his own harsh measures were rendering desolate and unproductive,—to say nothing of a once happy country, the most flourishing perhaps in Europe, now distracted and reduced to misery;—such a sight, one would suppose, could suggest but one course of proceeding. It was resolved, on the contrary, to administer violent remedies to every evil of the diseased state. Obedience was henceforward to be enforced by the exercise of military law: order was to be procured by the capital punishment of the refractory; and the desertion of the towns prevented by a proclamation, which forbade any one to quit the country without the sanction of the court. How inefficacious was this line of policy in restoring the Low Countries to their pristine condition, soon became apparent in the destruction of the whole fabric. Indeed, one can scarcely believe that the author of the mischief ever anticipated any

other termination to his work than that which actually resulted from it. He seems to have acted in a spirit of envy or of revenge, rather than with a view to the ultimate benefit of his subjects.

All writers agree in representing Alva as a monster of cruelty : proud, unrelenting, sanguinary, and avaricious to the last degree ; repulsive if not brutal in his manners, and in his aspect most forbidding. He was so notorious for these qualities, and so universally detested in consequence, that writers who mention him when upwards of a century had elapsed since his death, seem unable to divest themselves of a certain feeling of personal antipathy at the recurrence of his name ; as if the odium which he had excited in his life-time had not yet altogether subsided. The old English gentleman, Mr. John Evelyn, writing towards the close of the seventeenth century, in a page of delightful remarks on physiognomy as indicative of character, has the following passage :—" Of the Duke of Alva there are a thousand pictures, (not on medals only, but upon every jugg-pot and tobacco-box,) showing a most malicious, stern, and merciless aspect ; fringed with a prolix and squalid beard, which draws down his meagre and hollow cheeks,—emblems of his disposition."

It was in vain that the most faithful of Philip's ministers, at the risk of incurring his lasting dis-

pleasure, pointed out the unfitness of this nobleman for the post which had been assigned him. The king was inflexible ; and the favourite set out on his ill-starred journey at the head of an army of 20,000 men. On the way, he encountered a kindred spirit,—the Cardinal Granvelle, with whom he held much communication ; and it was currently rumoured that the soldier intended, on his arrival, to avenge the wrongs of the ecclesiastic. It cannot be doubted that there was more truth in this report than even those who propagated it were aware of. On the 22nd of August, 1567, Alva made his entry into Brussels, accompanied by a large train of followers, and others, whom the regent had dispatched from the capital to meet him.

The first letter which Clough addressed to Sir Thomas Gresham after his arrival at Antwerp, contains but a passing allusion to the state of the country when he wrote. “As for occurrants,” he says, “here hath not passed much syns my last ; but that there is daily bickering amonxt the soldiers and the townesmen, and allmost every daye one or other [is] slayne ; but yet styll without any tumult.”^e His next despatch, however, presents us with a Dutch picture of the outrages to which the inhabitants of the Low Countries were exposed, from the insolence and brutality of the Spanish soldiery.

• July 27, 1567.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off. •

“The soldiers that came with Duke D’Allve are all placed in towns and vyllagys: to saye, in Lovane, Lere, Bryssells, and Gawntt, and in dyvers other smalle townes thereabout. And at their fyrst entrye into Gawntt, they tooke the olde castell perforce, and [still] kepe it. They went to the newe-castell, and wolde have had it; but the capitaine bade them to avoyde, or he wold send them awaye: and so they departyd. Then they went to the Boro’ master, and demandid the keys of the towne; which he refusyd to do: wheruppon they enteryd his howse and tooke them perforce. They demandyd to have had the keys of all men’s howsys, because they myght go in and out at their pleasure; which was denied: and not being contentyd with any thing that the townesmen colde do to them, letting them sleepe in their own beds, and such like.

“Amonxt the rest, there was one that colde not be pleased with nothing; and not knowing how to anger the poore man where he laye, he took x or xii *li.* of boutter, and put it in a kettell on the fyre; and put 2 stones into the boutter, and sayd that he wolde not holde up of trowbeling of hym, tyll the stones were as soft as the boutter.—And another poore man, having 5 or 6 chilldren, lodgyd 2 Spanyards; who wolde eate up hys meat, and wolde not let

hym nor his chылdryne eate with them. Wheruppon the man, being desperate, tooke a spit and drove them both out of his howse. Wheruppon the same men, getting 40 or 50 with them, came the next nyght, brake up the man's howse, tooke the man, and carryd hym to the olde-castell. So that, with many such like [acts,] they troubeled the pepell: wheruppon the Lords sent to the court, and complained of the great outrage.

“Wheruppon, comission came from the court, that, first, they should carry the keys of the towne to the boro' master: he that had sethen the stones in the boutter [was ordered] to be hangyd; and all they that had takyn the man out of his howse, to be apprehendyd. And, that from that tyme forwards, no capitayne [was] to have any power of justice; but whatsomever he were that dyd offende, Spanyarde, Italian, or other, to be punished, and judged by the Lords of the Towne: so that now it is thought the poor pepell shall be more quiette.

“At Brussels, there was much adoo this last weke. A Spaniard, coming into the butchery, and other, wolde have flesh for nothing, or else at his owne price: but in fine he wolde have carryed the flesh awaye, which the butcher wolde not suffer. So that there was some blows; wheruppon the Spaniard went and fetched a great company in armour,

and so enteryd the butchery, and slewe 3 of the townesmen. Wheruppon was much ado,—the Spaniards taking the market-place, and the commons most in armour : but it was ceased with the death of 3 men ; and as the saying ys here, there shall 4 Spaniards be executed for that matter.

“ At Lovain, Lere, and other places, att the first they kept a marveylus styrre ; but nowe they are somewhat quietter : for, att the fyrst, they letted not to saye that all the lands and howses was forfeited to the king, and [that] the goodes [were] for them.”^f

Two days after the preceding letter was despatched, the Duke of Alva, by an act of singular treachery, gave evidence of a part at least of his object and intentions. On his arrival, he had taken especial care to lavish attentions on all the nobles who attended his levee ; and chiefly on the Counts Egmont and Horn, whom he caressed in a studied manner which, one would suppose, might have reasonably aroused their suspicions of some sinister intention on his part. He admitted them to his confidence, and had the air of consulting with them on the measures most proper to be adopted for the government, and protection of the provinces. In order to bring these deliberations to some definite point, a large

^f Sept. 7, 1567.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

assembly of nobles was convened ; and the 9th of September appointed for the day of meeting.

The council was prolonged until a late hour. The duke had issued an order for the apprehension of two gentlemen,—Backerzele, Count Egmont's secretary, and Straelen, one of the richest and most popular burgomasters of Antwerp, who stood high in the confidence of the Prince of Orange ; and until this object had been accomplished, he thought it imprudent to dismiss the assembly. As soon as word was brought him that his orders had been executed, and that the avenues of the Hôtel de Culembourg (where he lodged) were occupied by some of his own soldiery, he dissolved the council.

It was about five o'clock in the evening, and the rest of the noblemen slowly dispersed ; but the duke protracted a discussion with Egmont on the subject of fortification, conducting him from apartment to apartment, until they reached a spot where a few Spanish officers alone were assembled. Here he arrested his unsuspecting guest in the name of King Philip, and bade him surrender his sword. Egmont yielded it, observing that it had never been drawn except in his majesty's service ; and was forthwith taken into custody. Count Horn had already experienced a similar fate. He had been arrested on quitting the council-

chamber, and was at that moment under confinement.

This event produced no slight degree of consternation at Brussels, Antwerp, and elsewhere; for it became immediately and universally known. Alva was conscious that he was playing a dangerous game; for he took the precaution of securing the streets by military,—to the amazement of the citizens; who, when they discovered that Egmont and Horn were entrapped, expressed equal grief and indignation.—Such is the narrative of contemporary historians; and such is probably a true account of what occurred at Brussels on that memorable day.^s It is curious to see wherein it differs from Clough's *chronicle*: the subjoined letter being the description which he sent to Sir Thomas Gresham of the same events:—

“For that the tyme begynneth nowe to alter here,” says he, “I have thought good to wryte your Mastersheppe whatt hathe chanced since my last. As on Tewsdaye last past, by commysyon from Duke D Alle, [D’Alva,] Strawlee, (boromaster of Andwarpc,) was takyn on the waye to Brussels by the County Ladrone; and carryd from thense to Lere [Liere]; and, as some thynke, forthe to the castle of Vyllvorde. And the same daye, the County Ladrone enteryd his howse, and

^s Strada, book vi. p. 33.

seized all hys goods for the kyng ; putting out his wife and famyly.

“The same daye, the County of Horne was apprehendyd [at] about xi of the clocke, and the County of Egmonde the same nyghtt att supper tyme. And as touching the County of Horne, he was sent for to Brussels ; where, at hys comyng, there was appoyntyd a lodging for hym ; and within 2 houres after, [he was] apprehendyd, and [is] now gardyd with 150 soldyers. And as touching the County of Egmond, he was (as the saying ys) apprehendyd by the Duke, and comyttyd to the offysers : whereuppon, when the capytane that had the charge [of him] demandyd hys weapon, he was in a grett rage ; and tooke his sword from hys syde, and cast it to the grounde : not withstanding, he was lysensed to go to speke with hys wife, and nowe is in holde. And as the saying is, the young County of Mansfyld, understanding of these things, fled and ys eskaped.— There is takyn also the secretary of the County of Horne, and the prinsypall counselor of the County of Egmond ; with dyvers other gentillmen.

“The saying is here that Sir Jasper Skettz shuld be taken ; but so far as I can lerne, it is not so.

“There was put to deth in the Castell of Vyllforde, and in Repryemonde, on Tewsdaye, at nyght, xvij gentyllmen : to saye, the 3 sons of

Batembourge, and 14 more. As allso, on Tewsdaye last past, was takyn one of the Lords of Brussells,—dyvers in Gawnt,—att Hamsterdame,—and at Bonsse: besydes dyvers other plasys in thys country—all at one tyme.”^h

This letter, which may be considered to present us with the current version of the story, as it prevailed at Antwerp for the first few days after the events alluded to had occurred, seemed sufficiently curious to entitle it to insertion. Writing on the 14th of September, Clough added that the two unfortunate noblemen were prisoners in the duke’s house, “being appointed, either, a chamber and a page to serve them. . . . So that there is none other hope but to stand to the King’s mercy,—all men much lamentyng the County of Horne, but no man the County of Egmont: for that, as the saying is, he was the first beginner; as also [he] fyrst brake off, to his confusion and all theirs. So that since the taking of these men, all hath been still: saving that, as yesterday, there was burnyd here,—as the saying ys, for that they were anabaptists.”ⁱ

^h Ant. *Sept.* 2, 1567.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off. The date of this letter is evidently incorrect; it should have probably been the 12th, instead of the 2nd. Clough refers the incident of Egmont’s apprehension to a *Tuesday*,—and, in 1567, the 9th of September, (see page 232, line 1,) fell on that day.

ⁱ Sept. 14.—Ibid.

A further notice of the same noblemen occurs in Clough's next letter. "They write from Brussels, that the County of Egmont ys very friendly used in hys prisonement, and hath great resort to hym of gentyllmen; and, as on Wednesday att night, he won 1400 Δ [dollars] of the Duke D'Allva sone, (his base sone.)"^k But, as I do understande, both he and the County of Horne shall be carryed to the castell of Gawntt, and there to remayne [during] the king's pleasure: but, for the County of Horne, he ys very straightly handled, and maye speke with no man. We have news from Brussels that there are 12 appointed to sit upon the County of Egmont and the County of Horne; 2 of them to be of the Lords of the order [of the Golden Fleece,] and all the rest presidents of the counsell of these Low Countries; who are all papists (saving one, who is the president of Gawntt, who is takyn for a man of good judgement.) So that, by them, both they and all the rest shall be tryed."^l

The letter from which the preceding extract is obtained, affords a fair specimen of the species

^k "Le Duc d'Albe avoit mené ses deux fils, don Frédéric de Toledo, son fils légitime, et don Ferdinand, son bâtard,—qui étoit chevalier de Malthe, prieur de Castille, et dont il faisoit beaucoup plus de cas que de l'autre."—Vander Vynckt, *Histoire des Troubles*, &c. 1822, vol. i. p. 250.

^l Sept. 15, 1567.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

of intelligence with which Clough regularly supplied Sir Thomas Gresham; and through him, the secretary. The concluding paragraphs are as follows: "Here are letters from Parys of the 14th of thys present; whereby they wryte that all the protestants are departyd the court, and that Dandelot ys in the felde with 2000 horsemen, and a great number of footemen.

"We have newes here, that about 6 days past, the Duke of Cleve was lyke to have bene takyn, and hys son: and it came by this menes. The Duke useth to go [at] thys tyme of the yere a hunting of the hart, and of the wylde bore; and being on hunting, there was sent a company of horsemen, (Albonosys, that came down with the Duke D'Alve) to have takyn the Duke of Cleve; but they missed the place where he was, and had almost taken his son: yet [he] eskapyd. This is the talke here; but whe'er yt be trew or no, God knoweth.

"They wryte out of Italy, that there is lyke to fall out wars betwene the Turke and the Venezyanes; for that the Turke hath takyn certain lands from them, lying in Slavony.

"Herewithall, I do sende you a letter which I received from Brussells, from Alexander; of syche news as he understandeth there. Having nott else to molest your mastershippe, but pray-

ing God to send you helth, and long life, to your hart's desyre.

Your mastershippe's servant,

RYC. CLOUGH."^m

The enclosure alluded to must be given entire. It is a curious specimen of original writing, such as one rarely meets with among old letters; and it has the merit of helping us onward with our story.

"Laus Deo. In Bruxsells, the xvth of September, a^o 1567.

"Myn owne loving and trusty frinde,

"In all perseverance and fidelity of hart I salute you: certifying unto you that by this my letter I do intend for to make the olde proverbe a lyer, the which doth saye—*out of sight out of mynde*; for that I say that your person and gentillnez shall never be out of my mynde, while a living mynde remayneth in my body. And the greatest buissness at this [present] that I have for to write you, is, to only dessire you to remember me, as I remember you; and to accept my hart as I wish you: *et cetera*.

"As for the current news that we have here, [it] is, that these noblemen that are aprehended shall be carrid to the castell of Gaunt; there to remayne to know the pleasure of the [King's] Majesty: the which, (as it is understood,) is like to

^m Sept. 15, 1567.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

be gracious unto all offenders, except only unto such as may be found that had practised any externe or outward alliance or consideration with any forayne prince or protestant ; the which will seme as difficult here to be pardoned, as a matter of high treason is in Ingland ; the which we call here—*crymene lege* [læsæ] *Mag^{tie}*. They say here that one Bakersell, shrieff, counsellor, and secretary of the Compte of Egmont, hath confessed (by torments) divers matters of great perile, and much to the disadvantage of many : of the which a display and a relacion thereof is made to the King. I pray God that therein be no occasion of gelosy ; for it is a common sayng that—*kings and women are the gelosest kynde of the world.*

“The noble Count of Egmont doth show in his callamity and imprisonment such constancy and perseverance, that the Deuk himself, and all the noblemen that doth him visit, are in love with his vertu and patience. As for the Earl of Horne, no man cometh at him, nor great account is not made of him.

“The next week, they say shall be made a generall convocation or calling of the princes and nobility of the land ; and such as will not apere, it may be to his degrading and perill. The Prince of Orange is the first of the roll ; Bryderod, and so forth.—We look out of France to hear shortly

marvells: I say concerning the Prince of Condé, the admirall, with their adherents.—The coming of the king for this yere, it seemeth us here to be rather more doubtfull than certaine.—No more, but that in all humility I desyre you rather to command me than to desyre me; and rather to forgive than to forget me: and so I make an end, with salutation unto your Dame, unto Master Dowton and his bedfelowe, and your good neighbour and my good friend M^r Thomas Stenton. Adieu,—valete: felix, et cetera.

Your own infalibell usque ad mortem,

ALEXANDER LYNZEO.”ⁿ

“A Mons^r et mon très bon Amy, S^r
Richard Clough, Marchant Anglois,
demeurant en [Anvers.]”

By degrees, the system which the Duke of Alva intended to pursue, developed itself more completely. Among the many harsh measures which conspired about this time to ruin the commercial interests of the Low Countries, may be mentioned a rigorous edict which was issued rela-

ⁿ Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.—On the 23rd of September, Clough says, “We have news that the County of Egmont ys sente prisoner to the Castell of Gant; the County of Horne to the Castell of Dornyx, and Strawlee and divers other to Vyllvorde. As allso they write from Bryssells, that the County of Mansfyllde, and the County of Megam ar commandyd to keepe their howsys, and not to depart the towne of Bryssells.”—Ibid.

tive to the sale of gunpowder. "Upon Wednesday last past," says Clough, writing to Gresham on the 27th of July, 1567, "was proclaimed here, that no man, uppon payne of [loss of] lyfe and goods, shall either make or sell any powder,—neither here, nor in no part of thys country; saving at Macklyn, in the King's mills, [where] all the powder [is] to be made. And for that every honnest man should have powder to journey withal, there shulde be appointed one or two in every towne to sell powder; and these, to come to Macklyn for the powder, by 1000 *li.* weight, or 2000 *li.* at the most; and to wryte up all their names that the powder is solde unto. And when they do fetch new, to bring the names of them that the olde was solde unto. So that, from henceforth, there shall no more powder be made here to be sold; so that they that were wont to live by making of powdyr, are now undone: wishing that and if they would come into Englande they might have a place appointed to make powdyr, and lysense to sell the same to all men that cometh! Which if they had, I wolde not doubt but they wolde go into Englande; and where they go, the great quantity of salpeter and brymstone wyll follow. For that and if they do bring it here, they must sell to the Court at such a price as

they wyll; which the merchants cannot away withal.”^o

Visionary as, even to the intelligent writer of this letter, may have appeared his wish to see the arts and artisans of the Low Countries transported into England, it was actually fulfilled: and *that* so completely, that our commercial greatness may be said to have arisen on the ruins of that of Antwerp. The Flemings came over in immense numbers, established their manufactures, and enriched the country to a prodigious extent. A census was in fact taken in the course of the present year, (1567,) by order of the Bishop of London; from which it appeared, that of 4851 strangers in the city, no less than 3838 were Dutch.^p Nor was it long before their desertion of their native country became apparent: in consequence of which, an order was issued towards the end of September, prohibiting in future the exportation of merchandise or household-stuff; as well as the departure of any individual, until he had given the magistracy a month’s previous notice of his intention, and obtained their permission to quit the country. A copy of the original proclamation (printed like a little book) is preserved among the State-Papers. It was received in England

^o Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

^p Haynes, p. 461.

on the 2nd of October, 1567. Clough sums up his account of the proceedings he daily witnessed in these words: "as the tyme is nowe, the dyvell ys besy to provoke all myscheffs, so that hys kingdom may continew."¹

But this intelligent person extracted valuable lessons from many an occurrence which would have provoked displeasure, or at most only gratified idle curiosity in another. D'Alva resolved to strengthen the town of Antwerp by the erection of forts without the walls. These were described by Clough as five immense bulwarks, separated from one another by a wall five hundred feet in length; of which he sent Gresham "a draught or patrone." The duke's visit to inspect the spot where the works were to be commenced, suggested the following interesting passage in one of our friend's letters; from which a strange inference is to be drawn, as to the discipline of English cavalry in the middle of the sixteenth century.—"As for occurants, here is not much, but that on Friday last the Duke D'Alva came to thys towne and ys lodged at St. Michael's; and for to conduct him, came about 260 horses,—to say, 200 light horses and 60 demy-lansys. The 200 light horses might well be called *light* horses, for I dare say the Quene's Majesty may make

¹ September 28, 1567.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

above 30,000 in the realme better than they. All these horsemen had haquebutts^r of the ordinary sort, without fyre-locks; being half in blewe coats, and half in red, every one with a morrion on his head, and neither shirt of mail nor none other harness,—which many marveyled at: and yet these were of the flower of them that he brought down with him for garde of his person! Wishing to God that we had order in England for the use of guns, so that our horses might be inured to them, and then we need not to care for any foreign power; for I dare say that there is not one man of any estimation within our realme, but he hath a horse or gelding as good as the best of these were. But it was strange to see, when the Duke enteryd the Abbey-gate, (where I stood to see him enter,) and all the horsemen shott off, the horses never stirred more than if they had been abroad in the fields: and against hys entry, all the soldiers (Germans) stood in battell array, which was a fayre sight to see; but what the occasion of his coming is, I do nott knowe,—other than to view the place where the castell should stand.”^s—A similar wish Clough had expressed a month before, when he requested Gresham “to move the secretary” that the pis-

^r A hackbutt, or demi-haque, was a large pistol.

^s October 26, 1567.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

toilet might be introduced into the English army. "Wishing to God that the pystolet were not only suffered to be used, but commanded; and then we need not to fere any foreign power. For if ever we do suffer any damage, it shall be by them."

Our information relative to the year 1567 is brought very nearly to a close, by the following extract from a writer, with whose style the reader must by this time be familiar. It is the last lengthy extract we shall have occasion to make, for Clough was already meditating a removal with his wife and family into Wales: it must therefore be regarded with more than usual indulgence; and its author forgiven, if he has been sometimes found tedious when he meant to be entertaining.

"As for occurrants, here is not other but that the counsell of thys towne have it in counsel, all this weeke past, touching a demande made by the Duke D'Allva of this town; and the like shall be through the whole country: whereunto they have consentyd in some points, but not in all; but, as it seemeth, he is pleased for a tyme.

"His demand was, to have for the space of x yeres Excise and Impost upon all kynde of vyttels: to say, for every pound weight of beefe, mutton, and other flesh sold by the butcher, a

¹ September 28, 1567.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

farthyng; upon all kind of bread-corne, after the [same?] rate; every barrell of bere xii^d; every capon 1^d; every partrich and woodcocke ob; and the lyke on all kind of fowle, as also upon wood, tourve, [turf?] salt, herbes, and all other kind of vyttels to be eaten or dronken. [To] which they have consentyd, till the sum of 400,000 gilderns be received; which is for the making of the castell; and before it shall be received, they wyll consider upon it, whether they shall be able to fulfil his request.

“As also it is declared that he demandyd of every howse in Andwerpe, (and so throughout the country,) the fyfte peny of the propretarys, of all the rent he receiveth of hys house or housys; as also, the xth peny of hym that hyreth the house: which will amount to a wonderfull matter.

“As also it is geven out that he demandyth 1 per cent. of all the lands and goods within the country; and thereof, all men to be examined upon their oath: and for goods, to be paid within one yere; but for lands, to be paid after thys order. They do reckon 1*l.* land to be xvi*l.*; and after that order, all the lands of thys country are bought and sold,—which they call one pownde arflyke.” So that, he that may dispend c*l.*, must pay 1*l.*, which is 16*l.*; and in paying *that*

* This term, which is evidently technical, is perhaps derived from *aflyvig*, the Dutch for *dead*.

the fyrst yere, hys lands shall be clere: but he that payeth it not the fyrst yere, must paye the second yere, for so long tarrying, xviii *l.*: the third yere, xx *l.*: and the fourth yere, xxiiii *l.*: and, not paying then, the King and his heires [are] to have 1*l.* a yere out of the land, not to be redeemed at no price; which will come to a marvellus matter, whether they do paye, or prolong. And after thys order, all lands must pay; for *x*s. upwards and under to be reckonyd. It is said he demandeth for every chimney in the country *vs.*; with divers other things, which if he can obtain, as I think, he shall have a marvellus ryche: but it seemeth that he ys contentyd for thys tyme with that they have granted, and as thys daye ys departyd for Brussells.

“Since the beginning of this my letter, I do understand that the towne hath granted to most of the requests of the Duke, and ar contentyd to paye the 1 per cent., which will amount to a great matter.”*

It becomes necessary to state, that the Duchess of Parma, who for nine years had discharged the arduous duties of regent of the Low Countries, retired from the cares of that office at the close of the present year. She had, from the beginning, regarded Alva's arrival as a fit period

* November 30, 1567.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

for resigning any further responsibility in the government; but after the arrest of Egmont and Horn, of which the duke sent the Counts Mansfeld and Barlaimont to apprise her, her highness was pressing in her instances to be allowed to retire. Philip's acquiescence having been obtained, she took her departure towards the latter end of December; carrying with her into her retirement in Italy the regard and regret of the Flemings, who found themselves now for the first time left altogether to the mercy of the Duke of Alva. Before lifting the curtain, and taking a hasty glance at the tragedy which rendered the year 1568 memorable, let us inquire what our principal character had been about in England, while Richard Clough was thus employed at Antwerp.

It is only from the *disjecta membra* of a correspondence which, from its very nature, can never have been connected, or to any great extent auto-biographical, that we must look for information on this head. Doubtless, from the same motive which had influenced him at the commencement of the year, Gresham was still occupying his London residence in Bishopsgate-street: this, we learn from his letters, which are always dated with the accuracy and regularity peculiar to men of business; and which fre-

quently, in addition to the usual particulars of time and place, specify the hour at which the letter was written. His letter of November 14th, for instance, which accompanied one from Richard Clough written on the 9th, was sent to the secretary "at 12 of the clock this forenoon, by mie footman." With letters 'of pith and moment,' such a precaution was doubtless found necessary in an age when the two-penny post was unknown, and a messenger was depended on for the safe and expeditious delivery of despatches. Moreover, the journey from Gresham-House in Bishopsgate-street to Westminster, or to the Strand, where Sir William Cecil resided, must have been regarded as considerable for a letter-carrier; seeing that Lombard-street was considered sufficiently remote from Gresham's residence for letters to pass continually between him and Hugh Clough, one of his apprentices, (Richard's brother,) who dwelt there for the purpose of superintending his master's business. This latter circumstance seems, indeed, almost unaccountable. It takes one exactly five minutes to walk the distance, and yet "your worshippe's apprentis, Hugh Clough," addressed letters, formally, to Gresham-House; adding on one occasion, "this in haste, because of my Ladie's gowinge awaie."

Sir Thomas's brief communications with Cecil served, in general, merely to accompany the letters which he received once a-week, or oftener, from his Antwerp correspondent: sometimes, too, to these were added the letters of the English ambassador in Spain; and oftener still, those of Sussex and Lord North at Vienna. Very rarely does he present us with those lighter passages which give interest to correspondence, and even after the lapse of ages seem to afford a glimpse at the writer; as in a letter written about Midsummer 1567, wherein Gresham begs to know when Sir William and Lady Cecil will come to pay him a visit: and in another dated the 7th of August, where he writes, "most humbly beseeching you as I may understand by this bringer, whether you will be with me tomorrowe at dinner or at supper,"—that is to say, whether he was to expect the secretary in the morning or in the afternoon.*

In the same note, Gresham stated that he had just heard from the Earl of Sussex at Ulm. Of the numerous letters which that nobleman addressed to him, there exists but one, dated from Vienna, November 15th: it relates solely to a pri-

* The extracts in the text are all derived from the same prolific source,—the Flanders Correspondence, preserved among the State Papers.

vate matter of finance between ‘Good Sir Thomas’ and his ‘assured friend’ the writer.—The earl seems to have resided at the court of the emperor, altogether, for a period of about four months; since it is evident from Gresham’s letter to Cecil, dated the 15th of February, 1567–8, that he was expected to make his appearance, shortly, in Flanders: “Clough hath order from my Lord of Sussex to stay all his letters by him, untill his [the earl’s] coming to Antwerp; assuring your honnor that his Lordship hath been at great charge; for that I have furnished him, over and above his diets, with the sum of 3000*l.* sterling.”^v This was indeed a large sum, being very nearly equivalent to 30,000*l.* at the present day. Not to interrupt the subsequent narrative, here shall be inserted a passage from Sir William Cecil’s letter to Sir Ralph Sadler, dated the 14th of March, which conducts the earl back to England. “As yesterday, my Lord of Sussex came home with all his company in good health. Of his message I know not what to wryte: the matter, as it seemeth, restyng in the Quene’s Majestie to dispose uppon, as God shall direct her.”[•] It is well known that the obstacle to this match, in many respects so desirable, was the archduke’s religion. Both parties seem to have been in earnest. Queen

^v Dom. Corr. St. P. Off.[•] Ibid.

Elizabeth, notwithstanding all that has been written on the subject of her resolute celibacy, seems about this time to have thought seriously of marriage. The mournful exclamation which escaped her a year before, when Sir James Melville brought her tidings of the birth of James VI.,—"The Queen of Scots is mother of a fair son, while I am a barren stock!"—probably disclosed the secret wish of her heart; for Elizabeth, with all her greatness, was a very woman. The archduke, on his side, condescended to request "that he might be allowed a chapel at court on these conditions:—that no Englishman should be admitted to it,—that if his way of worship should happen to give offence, he would forbear it for a time,—that he would be present with the queen at the service of the Church of England,—and that neither himself, nor any of his, should speak any thing to the disparagement of the established religion."^a But the royal fair one replied, that she could not make this compromise without wronging her own conscience, and violating the laws of the land; if not endangering her honour and personal security. The negotiation was broken off in consequence, and 'Don Carolo' shortly after married the Duke of Bavaria's daughter.

Once more taking leave of this interesting cha-

^a Lodge's Illustrations, &c., vol. i. p. 365.

racter, we return to Sir Thomas Gresham. In remarking of his correspondence that it seldom presents us with those light and graceful passages which possess a charm, as it were, against oblivion, and command our sympathies after the lapse of ages, one is making an observation which is at least as applicable to the letters of his most distinguished contemporaries, as to his own. The art of letter-writing was as little understood by our ancestors, as the arts of history and biography : so much will this be found to be the case, that if it were attempted to form a collection of ancient letters which should deserve to rest on the same shelf with those of Gray and Cowper, it would be found difficult to fill a volume. The reader has been already presented with three graceful specimens of letters of this class from the pen of Sir Philip Hoby ; and it is to be wished that it were possible to add to their number, some from the pen of the worthy whose history these pages are intended to illustrate. The following notes, written about the close of the year 1567, have no pretensions to merit ; and are merely introduced in this place because they throw some light on his habits and movements, and on the relation in which he stood to Sir William Cecil. The first seems to have been written after a visit to Osterley.

“ Right honorable Sir,

“ It may like youe to understande, [that] I and my wife came this night to towne at vi of the clocke, and have receaved yours at the same instante, with a lettre to my Lorde of Sussex, which shall be seant safelye and spedelye. And at vii of the clocke, I receaved a packet of lettres from the Earle of Sussex, dated the xvth of November; which came to my servant Cloughes his hands, as the iii^d of this present, which he seant purposly in post. As also, your honnor shall receave a lettre from Doctor Mounte, which I have put in the packet: which lettres, according to my dewtie, I have thought good to send them unto youe this night bie this bringer, my footman, who departed from me at half an hour past vii this night.—I would have waited upon youe tomorrow, myself; but that I must attend upon my wief. As knoweth the Lord, who preserve you with increse of honnor. From London, the vith of December, 1567.

At your honnor's comandment,

THOMAS GRESHAM.”^b

‘Tomorrow’ was a Sunday; and this is by no means the only instance which might be adduced, of Gresham’s choice of that day for an interview with the secretary,—whose leisure was

^b Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

doubtless very limited ; and who did not object, apparently, to the dedication of some portion of the Sabbath to secular purposes. On Sunday, according to Hentzner, there was always a better attendance at Queen Elizabeth's court, than on any other day of the week.—Gresham's next letter has very much the air of having proceeded from the pen of one who contemplated retirement from the turmoils of public life.

“ Right honorable Sir,

“ Whereas it pleaseth you of your goodnes to move the Quene's Majestie for the purchasing of Heston, with divers other quilletts,—which mie sewte she did not mislike, but referred it untill her Majestie's cominge to London ;—this is most humblie to desire you as to have my sewte in remembrance, having sent your honor another note of those things which lieth mete for me. Which, sewrely Sir, I do purchase onely more for quietness sake, and to be Lorde of the soyles, than for anny profet that I shall attayne therbie ; for that the most part is quit-rent, and all the rest out by lease for long time.

“ Other, I have not to molest your honor withall ; but that Henricke, my workman, dothe pretende after the hollidays to go over sea, and not to be heere again before Aprill. Therefore I desire to know your honor's pleasure bie this bringer, whether you will have your port [gate]

set up before his departure, or els at his return. Thus the Lord preserve you with increase of honnor. From my howse in London, the xxvith of December, 1567.

At your honnor's commandment,
THOMAS GRESHAM.^c

"Sir, I do intend all this daye to tarry for my letter of Flandyrs, and to departe tomorrowe, very yerly for Norfocke."

The postscript of the preceding letter (written on a Friday) marks the period which elapsed between the departure of letters from Antwerp and their arrival in London. The post seems to have left the former city on Sunday night, or very early on Monday morning; since Clough's letters, with the exception of those which were despatched by a special messenger, will be found to have been always written on a Sunday. To Henricke, the architect of the Royal Exchange, the reader has been already introduced. He is again mentioned in the following note,—written, it may be presumed, on Gresham's return out of Norfolk. The allusion seems to be to the mansion Cecil was constructing at Burleigh; an estate which descended to his son Thomas, and is the residence of the Marquis of Exeter at the present day.

“ Sir, as I have written unto you that Henricke hath lost the patrone of the pillors for your galerie in the country, so, he can procede no further in the workinge thereof, untill he have another; wherein I desire to know your honnor's plesure what I shall write therin by this post: for that, havinge the patorn, youe shall not faile off it at the daye apointed. As also Henricke will be here by the last of March, at the furthest. I will, tomorrow, wayte upon youe with the landgrave of Heston his post, (that brought the Queene's Majestie's lettre,) for his answere. From London, the xxith of February an^o 1567[–8.]

At your honnor's comaundment,

THOMAS GRESHAM.”^d

We venture to transcribe only one more of the short notes written by Sir Thomas about this period, and will then proceed with our narrative.

“ Right honorable Sir,

“ It may please you to receive lettres from mie factor Richarde Cloughe, and Thomas Dutton, of the xith of this present, of such occurrants as there passeth. As also lettres from th' erle of Sussex of the xxith of November, and of the xxviith of December; with a lettre from Mr. Henrie Cobham.

“ Other, I have not to molest your honnor

^d Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

withall; but that it may plese you I maie know the Queene's Majestie's determination and your's, how I shall behave myself for the satisfication and payment of the l*j* m*x* c xxvi *li*. x*s*. [51,926*l*. 10*s*.] Flemishe,—dew in Andwerpe the xxth daie of February next. As also it maie please you, at your honnor's convenient leasure, to have my poore sewte in remembrance to the Queene's Majestie, for the purchasing of Heston; and other lands that lieth here, mete for the provision of my howse, and quietnes. As knoweth the Lord, who preserve you with increase of honnor. From Gressham-Howse, the xvth of January, 1567 [–8.]

At your honnor's commandment,

THOMAS GRESHAM."*

The preceding letter reminds us that the writer was still Queen Elizabeth's agent, and recalls some of the earlier portions of his correspondence, where he appears more distinctly in that capacity. Whether, on the present occasion, he proceeded in person to Antwerp, or negotiated by deputy the renewal of the queen's obligations in that city, does not appear. One thing is certain; namely, that from about this period, the letters of Sir Thomas Gresham and

* Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.—Henry Cobham formed part of the suite of the Earl of Sussex. Vide *suprà*, p. 223.

Richard Clough end abruptly : the occasion of this hiatus in a correspondence heretofore so voluminous and consecutive, will be best illustrated by resuming for awhile the thread of Flemish history, which was broken a few pages back in order that events might be discussed which it was more strictly our business to consider.

The last event connected with the history of the Low-Country troubles which we had occasion to notice, was the Duchess of Parma's retirement from the office of regent. This occurred at the close of the year 1567 ; after which, the Duke of Alva found himself sole governor of the provinces. His first act was to erect a tribunal, so arbitrary in its objects, so inhuman in its proceedings, that the common people designated it by the epithet *bloody*. Before this tribunal all ranks were indiscriminately summoned to appear. The Prince of Orange and his brothers,—all the nobles in short who had at all signalized themselves at the commencement of the troubles, were called upon to present themselves for trial ; but they refused to recognise the authority of such judges. One hundred and fifty wealthy commoners received the like summons to appear before the duke in council ; the most considerable of which, to the number of eighteen, were bold enough to repair

to Brussels in order to clear themselves: but, in the eyes of their judges, to be rich was to be guilty. These men became the immediate victims of Alva's cruelty and avarice. They were imprisoned, and put to death; while their lands, in common with those of thousands of others, were confiscated. Well might that tribunal be called 'bloody,' which enabled the monster with whom it originated to boast, on his return to Spain, that he had caused the death of upwards of eighteen thousand persons by the hands of the executioner! He might have added that he had been the ruin of three hundred thousand besides. There was not, in short, a family left throughout the provinces, which had not in some way experienced the effects either of Alva's rapacity, or of his sanguinary disposition.

It will naturally be asked how it happened that aggravations so gross as these failed to rouse the people to resistance. The truth is, they were in a manner overwhelmed by the magnitude of their wrongs, and their spirits were well nigh broken by the excessive outrages they daily witnessed. Brederode, indeed, who had played so conspicuous a part at the commencement of the troubles, with characteristic zeal again came forward; but it required one steadier in purpose, more exalted in rank, and possessed of greater

influence and authority to lead a resisting party, and inspire confidence, at such a period. All these requisites were found united in the Prince of Orange; who, having prudently retired into Germany, had already become the rallying point of the Protestants, as well as the hope of the States. He had already declared his intention of opposing the growing tyranny; and this proposal of Brederode, though it failed to promote his individual ambitious views, was so far successful that it strengthened the cause of the prince, and added considerable numbers to the army with which he already threatened to attack their common enemy.

Alva, in the mean time, had been pursuing his schemes of rapine and bloodshed without opposition; carrying his system of vengeance into every corner of the kingdom. The local chroniclers of the period have sullied their pages with the revolting annals, which we gladly pass over, having little business with them. One tragic scene, however,—no less memorable in its consequences to the Spanish monarchy, than appalling to those who witnessed it,—demands a brief notice.

The popularity and exalted rank of the Counts Egmont and Horn, who were still under confinement, gave Alva many apprehensions. Some say that he was for sending them into Spain, where it

is certain they would have been dealt with in a summary manner ; and seeing that he had already, by torturing their servants, obtained possession of their treasures, it is not impossible that his prudence would have got the better of his thirst for blood, had not his own inclinations been confirmed by the repeated commands of King Philip, that they should be put to death immediately. The threatened approach of the Prince of Orange became an additional motive for the destruction of these unfortunate noblemen, and they underwent the mockery of a trial. It was on this occasion that, among graver charges, all those ancient offences, never forgotten, still less forgiven by the Cardinal Granvelle, were revived. It was in vain that the lawyer whom Alva himself consulted, declared, on a strict examination of Count Egmont's articles of impeachment, that instead of being proved guilty, it could be shown that he was entitled to some public testimonial of approbation for his past conduct. To prepare men's minds for what was to follow, on the 1st and 2nd days of June, the duke ordered twenty-two gentlemen to be beheaded at Brussels ; and three days after, the Counts Egmont and Horn were brought from the castle of Ghent to the same city, where they suffered by the hands of the executioner. Their heads were exposed on pikes, and all their pos-

sessions confiscated. The same day, Straelen and Backerzele were beheaded in the castle of Vilvorden.

It is not exaggeration to say, that this tragedy—the affecting particulars of which^f we are obliged thus briefly to dismiss—produced a sensation throughout Europe. The emperor so openly resented the outrage, that his brother, the Archduke Charles, was sent into Spain to remonstrate with King Philip on the proceedings of his general; and Alva himself thought it necessary to explain his conduct in a letter to Maximilian. A careful translation exists among the State-Papers relating to Flanders.

The strength which these events imparted to the cause of the Prince of Orange, was manifest. He had already opened the campaign with some small successes; but the justice of his quarrel now became more apparent than ever, and the sympathies of all men were henceforth enlisted on his side. What was still more to his purpose, he received from many quarters promises of co-operation and assistance, and numbers flocked to his standard. This was the beginning of the Low-Country wars;—wars which, besides being ruinous in their nature, were so protracted in their duration, that none who saw their com-

^f See Strada, fol. book vii. p. 52.

mencement, lived to see their close. To England, in the end, they proved in many ways advantageous ; serving as a school where the aspiring youth of the country became trained in the art of war. It will be remembered that Sir Walter Raleigh commenced his career precisely at this period, and in this school.

The consummate wisdom which the Prince of Orange had all along displayed, now became apparent. Nothing like impetuosity or rashness had ever been noticed in his conduct. He was an instrument raised up for a great purpose, and he showed himself every way adapted to the necessity of his times. When Gresham and Dean Wotton were feasted by him at Antwerp in the month of September 1566, it is quite evident, from the doubts and fears which the prince expressed, that he had not, at that period, made up his mind to adopt the decided course he was now pursuing ; nor did he, for many months after, muster resolution openly to avow himself, and declare his intentions : once confirmed, however, in his spirited resolve to make head against the tyranny by which he saw his country enslaved, every thing had conspired to urge him forward ; and he now found himself at the head of a large army, seconded by the Protestant princes of Germany, supported by the Huguenots of France,

and favourably regarded by the Queen of England herself. That he had engaged in a most unequal struggle, needs scarcely to be remarked. Spain was at that time the most formidable monarchy in Europe, and France was her ally. Pope Pius V., the restless enemy of the reformers, was, of course, his foe. While Elizabeth, though she was prepared to make any sacrifice for the promotion of Protestantism abroad, no less than for its maintenance at home, was compelled to abstain from a too open demonstration of her disposition towards its professors. She had enemies among her own subjects to contend with, a Popish faction in Scotland to guard against, and a rebellion in Ireland to quell; and Sir William Cecil was too wise to embroil the kingdom at such a moment with the principal continental powers, by openly lending aid to the Prince of Orange and his Huguenot adherents.

There was nevertheless a rumour afloat of men and arms passing into Flanders from the English coast, and of pecuniary assistance proceeding from the same quarter: on which, says Haddon, "*Legatus Hispanus mirifice tumultuatur, et spargit terribiles minas.*"^s Windebank (who was still in the household of the secretary) was sent to appease him: but the Spaniard declared

^s To Cecil. London, July 16, 1568.—Dom. Corr. St. P. Off.

that ships were waiting in the ports to receive fifteen hundred Englishmen, who were on the point of crossing the seas, under arms ; and he was clamorous for the issuing of Queen Elizabeth's proclamation, forbidding that any such supplies should depart out of the country. Windebank, who had just left the printer, assured the ambassador that the proclamation would appear in print on that very day : and in reply to an inquiry at Dover, and other ports, respecting the transportation of men and arms, that rumour appeared to be without foundation. One thing was certain, namely, that the Duke of Alva's practices had struck so general a panic into the minds of all the Flemings, that in spite of edicts, and every other impediment, they fled over into England in swarms : adding so considerably to the number of those who had already taken up their residence in London and the suburbs, that the queen, on the 21st of July, directed the Lord Mayor to make an immediate report of their numbers, names, and qualities ; similar to that which had been made by the Bishop of London the year before. The rough draft of this letter is to be found among the State-Papers ; and assigns as the occasion of its appearance, "the Queen's Majestie being given to understand, that the number of strangers coming over into the realme from out of France, Flaunders, and

other countryes [uppon pretence of fleing for persecution for the cause of religion,] doo daily abound and increase ; in such sort, as her highness thinketh it very much that her realm should be thus overcharged with so great a multitude, and specially of such as [are reported to] be lewde and evil disposed ; as, amonge so many, it [is thought that it] cannot well be otherwise." The words enclosed within brackets are the corrections of Sir William Cecil. The whole document suggests some interesting reflections ; for it doubtless originated solely with the secretary, and shows that his mistrust of the leaven of popery which could not fail to result from so vast an influx of strangers, made him regard a considerable increase in the population of the metropolis rather as an evil, than an advantage. Sir Roger Martyn, the Lord Mayor, in the ensuing October apprized the secretary that, in conformity with his wishes, he had issued an order that henceforth no stranger should be allowed to stay in London more than a day and a night ; partly on the plea of infection, on account of the plague ; and partly "for the avoiding of some offence growne to her Majestie's people and subjects by reason of their repaire hither." ^h

The Prince of Orange, in the meanwhile, had opened his campaign successfully. His brother

^h Dom. Corr. St. P. Off.

Lewis, or Ludowick, had obtained a victory over the Spanish army in Friesland, on the 24th of May; which inspired his followers with confidence, and was therefore of great importance, though the advantages it procured were inconsiderable. Alva made his appearance in person, to revenge the indignity; and his regular, well-disciplined soldiers had no difficulty in routing the mixed forces which opposed them. An unpaid army of discontented German volunteers was no match for the veteran troops of Spain: the former experienced a total defeat on the 21st of July, which restored matters to their former position. A contemporary letter-writer states, that when the news of the defeat of the Protestants reached England, "for joy thereof, the ambassador of Spaine, (which lieth in my Lorde Paget's house,) made a great bonfier; and set owte ii hogsheads of good claret-wyne to drynke, (come who would,) and ii of beer."ⁱ

After this action, Alva returned to make head against the Prince of Orange, who, with an army of 28,000 men, had pushed into Brabant, determined to compel the duke to hazard an engagement: but in this attempt, he failed; for his opponent had as resolutely determined to give

ⁱ T. W[ilkinson?] to his uncle Oswald Wilkinson, of York-Castell, Aug. 9, 1568.—Dom. Corr. St. P. Off.

him no opportunity of displaying his prowess. Alva seems to have possessed at least the Roman virtue of good generalship. Every device to provoke a battle was had recourse to, but in vain; and at the close of a tedious campaign, the prince found himself obliged to disband his army, without having obtained any decisive advantage. But he never lost sight of his object; and now devoted himself more resolutely than ever to organizing his plans for the ensuing year.

Of those whom the religious persecution in France had driven into this country,—for France and Spain acted in concert throughout this period,—was none more celebrated than the Cardinal Chastillon. Born of illustrious parents, and inheriting an ancient and honourable name, this prelate was destined, like his two brothers, to take a leading part in the affairs of his time,—and not the least considerable perhaps, because the least conspicuous. His brothers were Gaspard de Coligni, the famous French admiral, and Francis, the great military commander,—better known in history as D'Andelot, which was the name of a lordship he held. Odet de Coligni (for such was the cardinal's real name,—Chastillon being a lordship, which his brother, the admiral, had inherited,) was bred to the church; and by the influence of his family, when only eleven years

old, had been preferred to the deanery of Marseille, and to a cardinal's hat. At thirteen years of age, he was promoted to the bishopric of Beauvais; and had become archbishop of Toulouse by the time he was twenty-two. Such a profusion of dignities, lavished on so young a man, seemed calculated to bind him indissolubly to the church from which they had proceeded; but a contrary result ensued. He embraced Protestant opinions, and at the age of eight-and-twenty was "a great aider of Lutherians."^k On a certain occasion, he was well nigh losing his life by a tumult of the people, on account of his celebrating the communion in his palace upon Easter-day, instead of being present at mass in his own cathedral, where he was expected. The martial spirit of his brothers broke out, in consequence of the outcry which was raised against him; so that, throwing aside his robes, he assumed a military dress, and the title of Count de Beauvais: on which, Pope Pius IV. excommunicated him, and stripped him of all his dignities. This happened in 1563. He is said to have immediately resumed his cardinal's habit,—terrified probably by the papal thunders; but the enmity of Rome was too strong for him: and finding his party betrayed in France, and his

^k Tytler's *England, under Edward VI. and Queen Mary*, vol. i. p. 420.

own life endangered, he retired to the coast of Normandy, whence he fled over into England in 1568.

The arrival of this distinguished foreigner and prelate excited considerable attention both at home and abroad. He was regarded, by the Huguenots (and justly) as one of the main supports of their party,—or rather, of Protestantism: and it is no slight proof of the consideration in which Sir Thomas Gresham was held, that Gresham-House was judged a fit place for the cardinal's reception.

Chastillon's arrival at Dover on the 8th of September, at 7 o'clock in the morning, was communicated to Lord Cobham (as constable of Dover, and lord warden of the Cinque-ports,) without a moment's delay;¹ and the latter sent the intelligence forward to Cecil from Cobham-Hall (near Gravesend) at noon; inquiring what reception was to be given to the cardinal, and exhorting the post, to "haste, haste, haste, haste,—for thy life, for life, life, life,—for the Queene's Majestie's affaires." The two following letters (both from Gresham) will tell the rest of the story.

"Right honorable Sir,

"It maie like you t'understande, that, as the xth, I receaved my Lordes' lettre and your's

¹ Robert Mekley to Lord Cobham, from Dover. He says of Chastillon, "he is somewhat sykely of the sey."—Dom. Corr. St. P. Off.

by Mr. Kingsmyll; and having conferrid together, he departed towards Dover at x of the clock in the forenoone; and I presently departed to my Lord Bushop's^m to Fullam: gevinge him to understande my Lordes of the Counsell's pleasure for the receiving of the Cardinall into his howse at London. By whome I understoode that he was not able, no kinde of wayes, to receave him. Upon whose answere, (according to my most bownden dewtye,) I have made my howse in a redynes for to receyve him, with as great entertaynement as shall lye in my powre to do. Seance the which time, as this daie, at x of the clock at night, I received a lettre from Mr. Kingsmille, with a lettre to my Lord of Leicester, and to your honnor, which I send you herewith:ⁿ and

^m Grindal, bishop of London, many of whose letters written about this period are extant. He was translated to York in 1570, and to Canterbury in 1575, on the death of Matthew Parker. There is an interesting letter among the State-Papers, from the pen of Nowell, dean of St. Paul's, recommending Grindal to the last-named see. The letter was written on the 16th of May, in anticipation of Parker's death, which occurred the day after.

ⁿ The letter to Gresham alluded to in the text, signed *T.* or *F.* *Kyngsmyll*, exists among the State-Papers, and is dated from Canterbury, Sept. 11, 1568. "My L. Cardinall taketh his voyage on Sunday morning towards Gravesend, where he meaneth to lye for that night; and the next morning, towards London, by water." He begged Gresham nevertheless to bring with him, or send, a horse for the Cardinal's saddle, in case he might alter his determination, and choose to ride: "trusting you have given his Lordship [the bishop of London] knowledge of the Counsel's pleasure," &c.—Dom. Corr. St. P. Off.

tomorrow I will mete him, (God willinge,) onn the waye, beyond Grave Inne, [Gravesend.] This bringer departeth at a xi of the clocke at night, being the xith of September, anno 1568.

At your honnor's comandement,

THOMAS GRESHAM."°

What follows, was written four days after.

" Right honnorable Sir,

" After my most humble comendations, it maie please you t' understande that my Lorde Cardinall Chastillion arrayved at the Tower Wharf at iiij of the clocke in the afternoon; whereas I received him, and brought him home to my howse, and will entertaine him the best I canne, with all his trayne, this night; because they shall not be unprov[id]ed, upon the sodaine coming: meaning to follow the order of your lettre for his diet, untill I hear further from youe. Also I have thought good to advertise you, that the said Cardinall had not byn a quarter of an hour in my house, but the French Ambassador^p came to visit him, and so staid at supper with him. Most humbly beseching you [that] I maie know your honnor's

° Dom. Corr. St. P. Off.

^p Bochetel de la Forêt. It was not until the 10th of November, that Bertrand de Salignac, de la Mothe Fénelon, arrived. In a letter from Lord Cobham to Cecil, (Oct. 25,) we read, "The new leger ambassador is com to Callys, namyd Mr. Le Moot,—a gaskone."—St. P. Off.

pleasure when I shall carrie him to Osterlye; for that I thinke beste to entertayne him here untill I heare from you.

“ Herewith I do send you the counterband for the city, which it maie please you to returne with some expedition. Other I have not to molest your honour withall; but that it maye please you to do my most humble commendacions to my Lord Steward, and my Lorde of Leicester. Thus the Lorde preserve you, with increase of honnor. From London, the 13th of September, anno 1568.

At your honnor’s commandment,

THOMAS GRESHAM.

“ As isterdaye ys arrayvid your xv m of slayte and iij m foote of bowrde.

“ After the French ambassador had maid promes to supe with him, (after some comunicacion) he departyd, and dyd not supe with hym.”^a

It cannot be doubted that Stowe, the chronicler, was present on this and many other occasions where the name of Sir Thomas Gresham occurs in his writings. There is evidence that he was residing in London at the time, and his narrative possesses in this and other places that minuteness which can proceed from an eye-witness alone. The chronicler states, that when Gresham received Chastillon and his train, (among whom

^a Dom. Corr. St. P. Off.

he notices the Bishop of Arles,) he was attended by a party of the principal citizens, who accompanied him as far as his house in Bishopsgate-street. “On the morrow, in the forenoone, the said Cardinall, (*in his short cloake, and a rapier by his side,*) with Sir Tho. Gresham and other, rode to the French church; from thence to the Exchange in Cornehill; and then to St. Paule’s church: and so, backe againe to dinner.”^r Chastillon partook of Gresham’s hospitality for a week; after which, he went to court, and rose high in favour with the queen, who appointed Sion-House for his residence.—He must have been an extraordinary person, who had seen so much of life in so short a time: at once insinuating in his manners, and vigilant in his actions,—a refined courtier, and a consummate politician,—it can be no matter of surprise that Chastillon had many enemies among the Roman Catholics; who sought to quench the restless spirit which was for ever^s frustrating their machinations, and scheming for the adverse party. His fate might have been almost predicted. He was poisoned at Canterbury, in 1570,—as it is said, by his own servants,—in the 47th year of his age; and was buried in the cathedral, where his tomb was pointed out to Hentzner the German, who visited

^r Chronicle, ed. 1631, p. 662.—Strype’s Annals, II. i. 353.

England in 1598. But this is to anticipate: we leave the cardinal at court, working his way into royal favour. Ciaconius, from whom these particulars are mostly derived, goes so far as to say that the queen never met him without saluting him with a kiss: * but this must surely be a mistake, or an exaggeration.

Hitherto, no decided demonstration of a hostile disposition towards King Philip had been made by Queen Elizabeth. Our merchants continued to trade with Seville, and one or two other ports in Spain; with Bourdeaux, Rouen, and Rochelle, in France; and even the traffic with the Low Countries, though it had languished considerably, was still maintained. Prohibitory edicts, it is true, had been repeatedly issued, and again suspended, and impediments of every description raised to the free intercourse with Flanders; which the English themselves, no less than the Spaniards, conceived indispensable to the well-being of this country. The company of the merchant-adventurers had tried Embden as a mart for their commodities; but they clung to ancient usage, and on the slightest discouragement returned to their accustomed haunt,—the port of Antwerp. The only precaution which they seem to have observed of late years, was

* *Vitæ et Res gestæ Pontificum, &c.* fol. 1677, vol. iii. p. 527-8.

that of freighting but four ships at once, instead of equipping a fleet as they had been formerly accustomed; and even these four ships were at last sent forth with so many apprehensions for their prosperous voyage and safe return, that it was put to the vote whether they should venture to sea or not.

The winter of 1568 brought with it events which became serious in their consequences, to all parties: for slight in its origin as was the cause of the misunderstanding, it speedily produced a rupture with Spain which was never afterwards healed; severing the last links which connected England with the Low Countries. All the materials for an explosion had long been accumulating, and nothing but a spark was necessary to fire the train. Almost every historian has dwelt on the occurrences alluded to; but the illustration they derive from the State-Papers of the period is altogether new, and of a more interesting character than is to be met with in any printed narrative.

It seems that in the beginning of December, several Spanish ships laden with treasure, being chased in the channel by men-of-war belonging to the Prince of Condé, were compelled to betake themselves to Plymouth, Southampton, and other harbours on the southern coast of England, for

safety. The first notice I meet with of this circumstance, occurs in a letter written by William Hawkins (brother of the celebrated admiral) to Cecil, from Plymouth, on the 3rd of December. It may not be improper first to insert the writer's character, as we have it from the pen of Vice-admiral Sir Arthur Champernowne, who calls him "an honest and necessary person, meetest of any that I know to be fixed in these partes, named William Hawkins; being, bothe for his wisdom, honesty, credyt, and zeale, not inferior to any of his calling in this country: whoose helpe and advise I have especially used in these doings; and without whome, not I onely in lyke matters shall feele a wante, but rather the towne of Plymouth, and places neere thereunto, [will be] utterly unfurnished of their chiefest furtherance in such services as may be of any importance."*

"God forbid it should be trewe!" says this friend and ally of Sir Arthur, writing to Cecil; "I hope it is but as the Spaniards would have it. The news should be that my brother, John Hawkins, was constrayned to land and to travell far into the land to make his traffycke; and so, by a great nombre of men should be intrapped, and all put to the sworde, with a great losse unto the Spaniards also. But if it should be trewe, (as God

* To Cecil, Plymouth, Jan. 1, 1568-9.—Dom. Corr. St. P. Off.

forbyd!) I shall have cawse to curse them wyles I lyve, and my children after me.”^v The facts were nearly as Admiral Winter, on Benedick Spinola’s authority, had informed the writer. His distinguished brother, who in the course of the summer had conducted a small fleet to Mexico, had been treacherously attacked by the Spaniards; his ships burnt; and himself compelled to make the best of his way back to England in a single vessel.^w William Hawkins, in consequence of the rumour which had reached him concerning his brother’s fate, begged the secretary to summon before him Benedick Spinola; and, “as the case may appear, to advertise the Queene’s Majestie thereof, *to the end there might be some stay made of King Philip’s treasure here in these partes*, till there be sufficient recompens made for the great wrong offered; and also other wrongs done long before this. I hope to please God beste therein, for that they are all God’s enemies [!].”

There are so many contradictory accounts concerning this treasure, that it is difficult to say to whom it really belonged: but, from the anxiety

^v To Cecil, Plymouth, Dec. 3, 1568.—Dom. Corr. St. P. Off.

^w See the narrative, entitled “Ce qui est advenu à Haquens, [Hawkins,] Anglois, en son voyage des Indes.” *Dépêches de la Mothe Fénélon*, 1838, 8vo. vol. i. p. 182-3.

respecting it manifested by the Spanish ambassador, Don Guerau Despes, who immediately claimed it in the name of his master, as well as from the Duke of Alva's rage when he learned that it had fallen into the hands of the English, there seems little doubt that it constituted the very supply with which that general proposed to pay his soldiers; and that the ships which contained it were on their way to Flanders out of Spain.* The other, and prevailing statement, may still be correct;—namely, that it was *the property* of merchants. Whoever may have been the rightful owner of the treasure, this was an opportunity too favourable to be lost at once of crippling Spain, and replenishing the coffers of an impoverished treasury at home; and when Cardinal Chastillon informed Cecil that it belonged to certain Genoese merchants, from whom it had been forcibly taken by the Duke of Alva, the secretary no longer hesitated to give directions that it should be conveyed to shore, and deposited in some place of security.

But it was necessary to proceed with the utmost caution. The Duke of Alva's right to the treasure had not been disallowed; on the contrary, it had been in some sort admitted; and a passport given to Despes, the ambassador, for its

* Ibid. p. 43.

safe conduct into Flanders.’ Now, however, it was declared to be indispensable for the safety of the treasure that it should be landed, in order to preserve it from the French, who threatened, and had even attempted, to fetch it by force out of the harbours where it lay.

What excites a suspicion of the sincerity of Cecil’s intentions respecting this treasure, from the very commencement, is a phrase which occurs in the letter of Edward Horsey, Captain of the Isle of Wight, on the subject, extant among the State-Papers. Writing from Hampton on the 20th of December, he states that, according to Cecil’s orders, he had taken possession of all such treasure as was on board a Spanish ship which he found in the river of Hampton ; for accomplishing which, himself and the mayor had devised a scheme, which he details. One Giacomo, resident at Hampton, having “ authority to deal for the said Spanish ship, confessed that there were on board fifty-nine coffers, each containing 20,000 Spanish rials. This statement was confirmed by the captain ; on which, Horsey announced his intentions of depositing the coffers within the town, in order, as he said, to preserve them from the French pirates. Some opposition was at first raised to this ; but, said

the soldier, " I had so prepared, as easily I would have had it, *whether they would or not.*" *

Horsey's example was soon followed at Plymouth. On the 3rd of January, Sir Arthur Champernowne, and four other gentlemen, announced that they had " made stay, and taken on land out of two Spanishe barkes lying at Saltashe, three score and fowre cases of royalls of plate; and out of ij pynnaces that laye at Foye, thyrty-two cases of royalls of plate. Every of which cases doth conteyne (as the Spaniardes informe [us]) about the nombre of twenty thowsand of the said royalls: for charters-partye, or billes of lading, or letters of factorage in that of Salteashe was none to be had nor founde; but sent all (as they beare in hande) by lande, to the Duke of Alva, for whom, they say, this money was appointed from the Kinge of Spayne. But some of the mariners murmuring the contrary; some that the propriety is to merchants, some that it is money gathered by order of the Bishop of Rome upon the clergie, for reliefe of the said duke against the Protestants.

" In the ij pynnaces at Foye, was lyke utter denying of any manner [of] billes of lading, charter-parties, or other letters; nevertheless, upon

* To Cecil.—Dom. Corr. St. P. Off.

good search, these letters were found in the same, herewith sent your honnors. And one that hath the whole charge of that money at Foye, writes himself—Petro Soubeau, servant and factor to Petro de Augusto of Bilbo, merchant. The money that was at Saltashe, is in the towne-halle of Plymouth, faste sealed and well garded: by the order of me, Arthur Champernown, and Richard Reynoldes, William Hawkins, and John Welles. And that money which was at Foye, is put into the house of Mr. Trefrye there, faste sealed, and garded; by order of me John Killigrew the younger, and of John Treffrye: which doth, and shall so remayne, untill we shall receive your Lordshippes, further pleasures touching the same. There is stayed also for the consideration afore-saide, in divers portes within Devon and Cornwall, divers ships untill lyke order: the value whereof may be, by estimacion, forty thowsand powndes.”^a

^a To the Lords of the Council, Plymouth, Jan. 1, 1568-9, 3 o’clk. p. m.—Ibid. The letter is signed by A. Champernowne, J. Killigrew, jun., Wm. Hawkins, John Wells, and Ric. Reynell. —Soon after, John Croke, the mayor of Southampton, with five others, addressed the Council as follows:—“We have arrested and stayed four vessels, belonging to the subjects of the king of Spain; with their furniture, masters, marriners, and marchandizes in them being. The one of them being a shippe of Byskey, in the which is thirteen hundred pookes [packs] of Spanish wool, or theraboughts: one berke of Valencia, in the which

While our countrymen were thus summarily dealing with the treasure which had fallen into their hands, Despes and his emissaries were not idle. Indeed the letter just cited was sent off in haste, because the writers were anxious to apprise the secretary of their operations without further delay; inasmuch as one Madrago, of London, had despatched two several posts to the Spanish ambassador, and they were apprehensive of the consequences. But the Spaniard had acted on Madrago's information with a degree of promptitude, for which Cecil himself was wholly unprepared. On the very day that the preceding was written from Plymouth, little suspecting the storm which was gathering around him, he had announced his intentions relative to the treasure to Sir Henry Norris, our ambassador at Paris, in these words: "Here is a stay made of certain treasure that came out of Spain to pass into Flanders, which we take to be merchants', and not the king's, as is alleaged: if it shall prove merchants', we may be

is dry and wett hydes, lynen thread, okym, and other merchandizes: one shippe of Brydges [Bruges] in Flanders, in the which is mastes, clappe-borde, deel-bordes, and certain other dry wares: and one hoye of Flushing in Flanders, aforesaid; being without lading in her." The writers petitioned that this capture might enable them to procure the release of whatever vessels of Southampton chanced to be within the territories of King Philip.—Dom. Corr. St. P. Off.

bolder to take the use of it, upon good bonds, for an interest.”^b

At about seven or eight o'clock on the following morning, the letter next to be given must have been presented to Cecil. It proceeded from the pen of William, Lord Cobham, warden of the Cinque Ports, whose residence was Cobham-Hall near Gravesend; but who wrote the ensuing letter from Canterbury.

“ Good Mr. Secretary,

“ Syns the sending of my laste, I have received advertisements that owre merchaunts and their goodes be stayed yn Flanders; which, although I judge you know afore thys, yet have I thought good to let you know what I hear. And rather, bycawse ther ys at Dover and at Syndwich, dyvers Flemings' hoyes, which maye be stayd,—if her highness doo so thynk good: praying you to let me ferther know her good pleasure, for I feare that they maye have knowledge, and so wyll awaye. Thys that I hear, ys by one that ys sent from Clowthe [Clough,] Sir Thomas Gressayme's man, to let his master to know of yt.

“ What I shall doo in thys, or in such lyke cawsys, I praye let me know her highness' pleasure. Thus wishing unto you as unto myself, I

^b Jan. 3, 1568-9.—*Serinia Ceciliania*, 4to. 1663, p. 150.

comyt you to Allmighty God ; from Canterberye,
the 3^d of January, [1568-9.]

Yowers moste assuryd,

W. COBHAM."

"For the Queene's Majestie's affares.
To the right honorable Sir William C-
cill, knight: principall secreatoye unto
her Majestie.

Haste, haste, post haste, with diligence.

*Dated at Canterbury, the 3^d of January, at 10
of the clocke in the night. Receyved at Setting-
bourne, the 3^d of Januarye, at 1 of clocke after
mydnyght."*^c

This intelligence, designed for Sir Thomas Gresham, seems to have been the first that reached London. Clough's emissary outstripped Lord Cobham's post; as the following letter, addressed by the Lord Mayor to Sir William Cecil, will testify. Gresham was, doubtless, one of the "wurthy Inglish merchants," who at "about 12 of the clocke" disturbed the slumbers of the worshipful master Thomas Rowe; indeed, the circumstance of his having been the first to receive the news, and his proximity of relationship to the writer, makes this something more than a matter of conjecture. Rowe, (who was not knighted till

about half a year after the date of his letter,) had married Mary, eldest daughter of Sir John Gresham, of Titsey, and cousin of Sir Thomas; and from some memoirs of him to be given hereafter, will be shown to have been an interesting character. Now for his letter, which is entirely in his autograph:—

“Ryght humbly I commend me to your honnor. May it please you to be advertised, that yesternight, about 12 of the clocke, cam unto me (very sodenlie and very fearefully) certen wurthy Inglish merchants; and declarid to me that they had credible advertisements from beyond the seas, that all our Inglish nation resident in Andwarpe were arested the xx9th of the last, and be kept prisoners in the Inglish howse there; and *that* by the gard of a thowsand men: and all their goodes attached, and none of our nation whatsoever to depart uppon payne of death. Wheruppon, it may like your honnor, I thought good to staye all those letters which, at that very present in the post’s hands, were readie to be sent awaie; to the entent the Quene’s highness may have the better intelligens what goods King Philippe’s subjects have here; as also, the better to knowe of other matter of importance, (if any be disclosed by the said letters,) I have sent your honnor the whole male of ^d letters.

^d *Malle*, trunk. Fr. Hence our word ‘mail.’

“ It may like you further, there was great sturrying this night in the streets, as well of merchants straungers as Inglishe: and namelie, Anthony Guarras was mett going to and fro, and (by most supposed) to the Imbassador of Spayne. I praye God to send us quietness, and that this my doings may be taken in good parte. As also, it may please you to gyve me advertisement what I have further to do touchinge the said letters, and the quietinge of our marchaunts. And the Holie Ghost preserve your honnor. Writtin at my howse, the fowrthe of this present January. A.^o 1568-[9.] Your honnor's to comaunde,

THOMAS ROWE, maior.”^f

The truth is, that the Duke of Alva, who was at all times as avaricious as cruel, and now actually needed money to pay his troops, was exasperated by the recent manœuvre of the English to the last degree. Disappointed of his supplies, and sensible (as all our historians affirm) of the injustice of his claims, he had adopted the barbarous expedient of retaliating on all the subjects of Queen Elizabeth throughout the Spanish dominions. Whatever Cecil's secret intentions may have been with regard to the treasure, this was clearly a gross and indefensible outrage on the part of the duke; inasmuch as it occurred on the

* *Sic.*

^f Dom. Corr. St. P. Off.

very day that Queen Elizabeth announced to Despes her intention of borrowing it of the merchants, to whom she had ascertained that it belonged; and therefore cannot be considered to have been a consequence of that announcement.^s On Tuesday, the 28th of December, Alva issued an order that all the English, whether in Flanders, Spain, or Italy, should be put under arrest: in consequence of which, such as happened to be at Antwerp were next day shut up in the English-house,—guarded by a troop of 200 soldiers, and their warehouses searched and locked up. On the 30th, the English throughout Zealand and Holland were arrested, and committed to prison; and on the day following, Murron, the Spanish ambassador's secretary, hastening into Flanders, wreaked his vengeance on all the English he met on his journey.. According to the narrative of a stapler, who had fled with the intelligence from beyond seas, the Spanish ambassador's secretary landed at Dunkirk on Sunday, and found there sixteen Englishmen, whom he committed to prison. He dealt in the same summary manner with all our countrymen whom he encountered along the coast; not failing to arrest their shipping, seize their merchandise, and put the mariners under

^s See Queen Elizabeth's proclamation, dated Jan. 6, 1568-9. *Dépêches de la Mothe Fénelon*. vol. i. p. 111-12.

confinement. Among the rest, the four ships belonging to the merchant-adventurers were captured at Flushing. Proceeding to Bruges, he procured the incarceration of the staplers, and seizure of their goods; and then made the best of his way to the Duke of Alva at Brussels, whence Rowe's informant with several others had precipitately made their escape. The manner in which the first intelligence of these startling events reached London, has been already laid before the reader.

That reprisals were made on the subjects of King Philip in London will be no matter of surprise. Rowe, the Lord Mayor, with nine of the principal merchants of the city, among whom was John Gresham, his brother-in-law,) immediately memorialized the lords of the council to this effect. "First, we doe think it very needfull and necessary that, with all possible speed, the bodies, shippes, and goodes of all the subjects of the said king be had under arrest, and their bodies to be sequestred from their houses, *compting-houses, books, warehouses, and goods*; and they themselves to be comitted unto severall and sure custodie and keeping. And that alsoe, comission may be granted to sage persons to enquire, and trie out *all coulorable transports and contracts don since the xxth of December last*, by any of the subjects of the said king, or by any other nation.

“ And that a proclamation be made by the Queene’s Majesty’s auctoritie forthwith, *for the avoiding of collorable bargaines, transports, and contracts, hereafter to be made.*”^h

Besides John Gresham, this letter is signed by Sir Thomas Offley, Sir John White, Sir Roger Martyn, Leonell Duckett, alderman, Thomas Heaton, Richard Wheler, Thomas Aldersey, and Francis Beinson.ⁱ The *jalousie de métier* had evidently some share in the warmth with which these worthies drew up their address. An opportunity had at last occurred when they might be revenged on their foreign rivals, and they seem to have been determined to avail themselves of it to the utmost. Their wishes were so far gratified, that several of the merchant-strangers were immediately committed to the custody of the aldermen of the wards wherein they severally resided; and a proclamation was issued on the 6th of January, 1569, forbidding all traffic in future with King Philip’s dominions, and ordering a general arrest of his subjects.^j Despes, the Spanish ambassa-

^h Cott. MS. Galba. c. iii. fol. 151, b.

ⁱ Names rendered memorable in the annals of the metropolis, by being associated with countless acts of charity and munificence. Some mention of most of these persons will be found in Stowe’s London; to which, did our limits admit of it, not a few curious notices might be added. See the Reports of the Commissioners for inquiring into Charities, in England and Wales, *passim*.

^j *Dépêches de la Mothe*, vol. i. pp. 107—112.

dor, was next put under restraint,—three gentlemen being appointed to guard him ;^{*} and Clinton the lord high-admiral, and Sir William Cecil were sent in the name of the council to demand an explanation of the recent outrage, and to inquire if the queen was to understand that it had been perpetrated with the sanction of the King of Spain.

The preceding events occurred during the first few months of De la Mothe Fénélon (the French ambassador)'s residence at the English court. The lively picture he has drawn of the sensation which they at first produced, as well as the curious particulars relative to the same transactions with

^{*} To revenge himself, Despes, during his confinement, wrote disrespectful things about Queen Elizabeth and the lords of the council to the Duke of Alva, for which he was called to account by their lordships. The rough draft of their reprimand, corrected throughout by Cecil, is preserved among the Cotton MSS. Despes at the same time wrote a letter to one of his friends, Don Jeronimo de Curiel, in which there occurred the following passage:—"Monsieur, si vous oyrez dire qu'on m'a détenu ici, ne vous esbahissez pas, d'autant que les enchantemens d'Amadis sont encore en cest isle ici, et Archelaus vit. Ce nonobstant, je suis sain et sauf, prisonnier de la Roïne Oriana; et si pense que sans auoir besoeing de Urgande ne autre grande poursuit tout ceci finira en comédie." This letter also was communicated to the council, who denounced the writer as a very unfit person for the post he occupied; and gravely rebuking him for his indiscretion, commented with much warmth, and not a little quaintness, on his having written "a light lettre altogether made of fantasies gathered out of Amadis bookes; using speeches of Amadis and of enchantments, and of Arcalaus and Oriana a queen, and such lyke."—Cott. MS. Galba. c. iii. fol. 154, &c.

which he has supplied us, are entitled to particular attention, for they proceeded from a person who had no interest in falsifying statements; while his extreme intimacy with the Spanish ambassador, of course enabled him to become master of all the facts of the case. He deemed the occasion sufficiently important for the despatch of a special messenger to his royal master,—“le Sieur de S^t Croix, qui vous va représenter l’esmotion et altération, où, depuys trois jours, s’en retrouve tout ce royaume.”¹ The amount of the treasure, La Mothe estimated at 450,000 ducats; adding, that in appropriating it to the uses of the kingdom, the queen had yielded to the solicitations of the Protestants, and taken a step which the Roman Catholic party strongly disapproved of. Public measures, however, originate not with masses of men, but with individuals: and the ostensible subject of political strife is not always the real object which engages the attention of the contending parties. This was eminently the case on the present occasion. As soon as the question before us is closely investigated, instead of a great religious party, we discover a small state faction; contending, not for principle, but for place and power. We behold a set of ambitious, disappointed nobles, conspiring to effect the ruin of Sir William Cecil; having all the while be-

¹ Jan. 10, 1569.—*Dépêches de la Mothe*, vol. i. p. 94.

fore them a grand ulterior object,—the subversion of Protestantism and the introduction of Popery.

That such was *really* the fact, rests on no doubtful authority. In the preceding month of December, the Spanish ambassador had broached the subject to La Mothe; pointing out to him that there was not a greater heretic in the world than the secretary, or one more opposed to the Roman Catholic faith; and that it was their duty to conspire to procure his removal from the high office he enjoyed, inasmuch as he directed, almost alone, the counsels of Queen Elizabeth. Despes added that he had already taken measures to attain this object; and that it was only necessary for the kings of France and Spain simultaneously to prohibit, in future, all commercial intercourse with the English, in order to compel the latter, for their very existence, to receive the religion of Rome. The public revenue, he observed, depended on the commerce of the country; and the greater part of the manufacturing population being Roman Catholics, the rest would soon be necessitated to conform. The Spaniard's object was to fasten the odium of the late events exclusively on Cecil, who represented the whole Protestant body. Among other devices, he wrote a letter imputing every thing which had occurred to the animosity with which that statesman pursued the

King of Spain and his cause. Despes foresaw that the post would be stopped, and his letter read before the council; and he had framed it accordingly.^m

Before proceeding further, it becomes necessary to mention that, towards the latter end of January, the Duke of Alva sent over an agent, Monsieur d'Assonleville,—the same who had ‘*sung out of tune*’ during the conference at Bruges, of which the particulars were given in the last chapter,—to demand the restitution of the treasure. Elizabeth caused him to be detained two days at Rochester, in order that he might witness the military preparations which were going forward in that great arsenal:ⁿ after which, he was conducted under a guard to London. Rowe writes to Cecil, “I have appointed Mr. John Gresham, and Mr. Aldersey, for th’ accompanying of Dassondeville from Gravesend to London, (who have done the same accordingly); and have appointed the same Dassondeville to be lodged in custody of Mr. Alderman Bonde, and have taken order for him there according to your honnor’s direction.”^o—At this time, Bond was residing at

^m Jan. 10, 1569.—*Dépêches de la Mothe*, vol. i. p. 114.

ⁿ See the letters of Thomas Taylor, written from Rochester on this occasion “to Lord Cobham, at the Black Friars in London.”—*Dom. Corr. St. P. Off.*

^o Jan. 23.—*Ibid.*

Crosby-place, which he had purchased of a cousin of Sir Thomas Gresham in 1566; so that it was within that interesting edifice that Dassonleville and his train found accommodation. All intercourse between them and the Spanish ambassador was in the mean time strictly forbidden. The event is noticed in the secretary's diary in these words, "Jan. 22. Mr. Dassoñville came from the Duke of Alva to London, and had no commission but to demand money." Such in fact was the sole object of his mission, in which it is needless to say he was unsuccessful. At first, he insisted on making his demand of the queen in person, but her majesty referred him to her council; and he finally agreed, somewhat indignantly, to attend their lordships, on condition that he might be allowed a prior interview with the Spanish ambassador. The charge of bringing these two gentlemen together, was confided to Sir Thomas Gresham;^p and, the interview over, each was put under restraint as before. The treasure in the mean while, (for its greater security as it was alleged,) had been brought to London, and deposited within the tower.^q "On the 22nd of February," says the secretary in his private diary, "Sir William Cecill, and Sir Walter Mildmay

^p Feb. 12, 1569.—*Dépêches de la Mothe*, vol. i. p. 194.

^q *Ibid.* p. 176-7.

wer sent to speke with Dassoñvile at Sir Thomas Gresham's; "r and all negotiations proving fruitless, the Duke of Alva's emissary took his departure from Dover on the 8th of March: having succeeded in obtaining from Queen Elizabeth nothing beyond the assurance that she was ready to surrender the treasure, when his master promised indemnity to all her subjects in the Low Countries, and agreed solemnly to ratify the ancient treaty and alliance between the crown of England and the house of Burgundy.

Meanwhile, the conspiracy against Sir William Cecil—for such it really was—slowly worked its way. La Mothe, who was privy to the whole, now and then drops a dark hint on the subject. In February he writes,—“et, pour la fin, je vous diray, Madame, que sellon aulcunes praticques que j'entend se mener en ceste court, je seray bien trompé si bien tost l'on ne veoyt advenir une notable nouveaulté, et, possible, *quelque mutation d'aulcunes choses en ce royaulme.*”^a But in March he is more explicit, and sends a “Mémoire pour communiquer à la Royne, prenant promesse

^a Murdin's State-Papers, p. 767. “Dassonleville's answer at S^r Thomas Gresham's house, in London, to Sir Wm. Cecill and S^r Walter Myldmay, Knts,” is preserved in Cott. MS. Galba. c. iii. 188.—On the same subject see also *Scrinia Ceciliana*, &c. pp. 152 and 156.

^a Dépêches de la Mothe, vol. i. p. 213.

d'elle que n'en parlera à personne du monde." ' From this remarkable document, (viewed in connexion with his other despatches,) we learn by what steps the enemies of Protestantism had proceeded up to that period.—A Florentine gentleman, by name Roberto Ridolfi, who was residing in England under pretence of commercial occupations, was the original mover of the scheme. He had received express instructions on the subject from the Pope himself; and having already had occasion to lend a sum of money to the Lords Arundel and Lumley, he was furnished with an admirable pretext, of which he did not fail to avail himself, for entering into a negotiation with those noblemen on the subject he had most at heart. They listened to him readily; and as soon as the Duke of Norfolk had been gained over, the Earls of Derby, Shrewsbury, Pembroke, Northumberland, and Leicester, with some others equally averse to the new religion (as it was called,) lent themselves to the plot: all agreeing that their first step must be the removal of Sir William Cecil from the government. Relying on their numbers, their rank and influence, and the place they occupied in the hearts of the people, they foresaw the possibility of accomplishing their object without confusion or bloodshed.

' *Dépêches de la Mothe*, vol. i. p. 258.

With this view they adopted the strange expedient, on one frivolous pretence or other, of absenting themselves from the meetings of the privy-council. It is not to be supposed that the personal jealousy they all entertained towards Sir William Cecil, who seemed to stand alone between them and the government, was without its full influence in urging them forward. They became distant and cold in their behaviour : shrinking from him, and avoiding to take part in any debate on the subject of the treasure, the affairs of Scotland, &c. by feigning ill health ; which one and all assigned as a plea for absence from the council-chamber. Leicester, in particular, availed himself of a slight cold to stay away from the council for many days ; and Queen Elizabeth found it impossible to obtain a full attendance of her ministers.

On Ash-Wednesday, it was preconcerted that the earl should enter the queen's apartment a little before supper-time ; at which hour, it was foreseen that Cecil would be present, as well as the Duke of Norfolk and the other lords. Perceiving them assembled, her majesty naturally made some observation as to the difficulty she had of late experienced in obtaining their attendance at her council-table ; on which, Leicester, availing himself of the opportunity, with much

feigned humility, told the queen that he spoke the sentiments of the whole nation when he deprecated the measures of Cecil and his party,—on which he proceeded to pass some severe comments. The secretary was astonished, but the daughter of Henry VIII. waxed angry; on which, the Duke of Norfolk remarked aloud to another nobleman who was present, that if the Earl of Leicester was sent to the Tower, he should not go alone: and the other peers showed themselves as seditiously disposed as the principal speakers. All joined in demanding that Cecil should be required to give an account of the administration of the last eight years. It was in vain that he reminded Leicester and his friends, in private, that they had been parties to every public measure throughout that period. The earl coolly bade the secretary look well to his affairs; for he had already settled his own.* Nor were the Popish party content to rest here: a good understanding already subsisted between them and the see of Rome; and they had secured the Duke of Alva by promising the surrender of the treasure. They now availed themselves of La Mothe's agency to open a negotiation with the kings of France and Spain; and proposed that the former monarch should issue an edict for-

* *Dépêches de la Mothe*, vol. i. p. 236.

bidding all commerce with England,—as the Duke of Alva had already done, in his master's name, with regard to the Low Countries. Lastly, it was suggested that if the forces of the Pope, newly arrived out of Italy, were to appear in some numbers on the coasts of Normandy and Picardy, it would give the Roman Catholics courage to proceed, and conduce materially to strengthen their cause.

The truth seems to be, that Sir William Cecil did not at first himself know his own intentions with regard to the enormous sum which had been so opportunely cast upon the English coast. It was too considerable an advantage either to be parted with, or to be preserved, with impunity. To part with the treasure, would have been to supply muscle and sinews to the military operations of the Duke of Alva,—the sworn foe of Protestantism, and therefore the sworn foe of England. To preserve possession of it, Cecil knew, was to encounter all the evils which a disappointed tyrant is able to inflict; and virtually to make the country over whose affairs he presided, the aggressor of Spain. He had good reason to believe that the first use to which Alva would have turned these supplies, would have been to make a descent on the English coast; and he cannot, as a statesman and financialist, have lost sight of the important fact, that the resources

hitherto derived from Antwerp were no longer available ; and that the unassisted annual revenue of the country was inadequate to sustain its annual expenditure.

His false friends, who participated in none of his cares or fears, availed themselves of his position ; sparing no pains to work his downfall. They were restrained by respect, and perhaps regard, for the queen,^v from proceeding to actual violence ; though this also formed a part of their intentions.^x Meanwhile, the position both of the sovereign and the minister, must have been perplexing, not to say alarming, in the extreme. France and Spain, urged forward by his holiness the Pope, wanted nothing but ability to show their hostile disposition : with the Low Countries there was an open breach : in Scotland, a strong Roman Catholic party were for subverting the throne of Elizabeth, and substituting in her place Mary Stuart,—who now became the hope and the rallying point of the disaffected, whether in religion or politics : Ireland was in a state of rebellion ; and there were traitors at home. Thus encompassed by danger, it will surely be acknowledged that, during this trying period of his career, the conduct of Sir William Cecil was truly *great*.

^v D  p  ches de la Mothe, vol. i. p. 259.

^x Baker's Chronicle, ed. 1653, p. 491.

To have retired from the helm, would have been to be secure ; but he scorned the ignoble alternative. He preferred that the goodly vessel of which he had undertaken the management should founder at sea, than suffer shipwreck by being confided to traitorous or unskilful hands. Deserted by those to whom he had been accustomed to look for counsel and assistance, he stood undaunted at his post, though he knew that almost all Europe was in league against him. He was satisfied with the queen's support, and the approving voice of his own conscience ; and fixing his eyes on heaven, he weathered the storm alone.

Affairs were at this pass when Sir Thomas Gresham, who appears to have been Cecil's faithful ally on this, as on all other occasions, proposed to him that some decided step should be taken with regard to the treasure.

"As the 12th of this present," said he, writing to the secretary from Gresham-House on the 14th of August, 1569, "Mr. Bennedik Spinola brought home to my howse a merchant of Janua [Genoa,] called Thomas Ragio, to take his leave of me ; to know if he coud pleasure me with annything in Flaunders : and as I thanked him, so, among other communication of profit, and for service by him ministrid, he desired me to be his frind for suche money as the Queene's Majestie

hathe of his in the Tower. With that, I asked him what his sum was ; and he said xx or xxx m ducats ; but by talke I perceive he hathe muche more, with other of his frindes.—Now, Sir, seeing this monney in the Tower doth appertain to merchauntes, I wold wishe the Queene's Majestie to put it to use of some profit ; as to mynt it into her own coyne : whereby she shall be a gayner [of] iij or iiij m *li.* and enriche her realme with so much fine silver. And for the repaiement thereof, her Highness maie paie it by the way of Exchange, or otherwise, to her great fardell and profit. As also, her Majestie maie take it up of the said merchauntes upon interest, uppon the bandes accustomed, for a yere or twoo ; whiche I thinke they will be right glad of : and so with the said monney, her Majestie maie paie her debtes both here and in Flaunders,—to the great honour and credit of her Majestie throughout all Christendom.”

This was a bold suggestion, but after a little delay it was acted upon ; as will appear from the following letter.

“ Right honorable Sir,

“ After my most humble comendacions, it maye please you to be advertised that, upon Mondaye, I was in London all daye, atending for

Mr. Standley,*—whoe came not home till the next daye, at vi of the clocke at nyght. So, according to your honnor's comandement, I left order with my servant, Hew Clowghe,* to deliver at his comyng, v sackes of new Spannysh Ryalls; wiche he delyveryd *by wayte*, apou Weadinsdaye, at the Towre, by vii of the clocke in the mornyng, in good secreat order: wyche fyve sackes did waye ix c lxxij lb. waight, xi ouz. [972 lb. 11 oz.]—Sir, I had geven my servaunte ordre to indeant the same between us bothe, and to tacke out of every bag vis.; at wyche matter there passyd muche talke between hym and my ser-yaunt: but, in the end, he was content I shuld take out the vis., and the bag to be sealed; wyche I have the keeping thereof, till your honner's pleasure be further known. But so to indent the matter between us bothe, he wolde in no wyse do yt, but only to give out his accustomed bill; as he giveth to all others, as followeth:—‘The xiiiith daye of September, a° 1569. Received bye Thomas Standley of Sir Thomas

* Mr. Thomas Stanley was one of the Masters of Assay in the Mint, which at that time was situated in the Tower.

* Hugh was a brother of Richard Clough. He was a native of Denbigh, and is designated, “of Grove House;” above the back-door of which residence is the following inscription:—“Builded by Hugh Clough, 1574; repaired by F. Shaw and E. Shaw, 1619.”

Gresham, in Spanneyshe monny,—ix c lxxij lb. waight, xj ouz. at iijs. xd. q.'

"Sir, I wylled my man to saye unto hym, that the more expedyssone he did use in the coinage, the more proffyttable servyze he shuld doo to the Queene's Majestie; and that your honnor gave me to understand he myght easily coin one thousand pound a daye. His answer was, that he had order from you at Basing, [? that] he shuld use me in payment, as he dyd all other marchaunts; and that apou Satterdaye, I shuld have told me by talle, one thousand pounnds. My seruaunt's answere was, that as I dyd delyvre it by waight, so he dyd looke to resseve it by waight agayn:—wherein I desire to knowe your honnor's ressoleusione, for in telling it out by hande, he makes his reconnyng to paye it after iijs. xd. q. the ouz. which ys all one to me, yff your honnor so be contented I wyl resseve none at his handes till that I knowe of your honnor whether I shall resseve by waight, or by tale."b

The writer trusts that he shall be forgiven, if he has entered more minutely than was perhaps altogether necessary into the occurrences which

^a Lansd. MS. No. xii. art. 11. To Cecil: "From Gresham Howe, the xvthe of September, a° 1569. At 3 of the clocke in the mornyng." See Plate v.

rendered the early part of the year 1569 memorable. He has been induced to dwell on the events of this period, which our writers do not seem to have sufficiently regarded in connexion with the personal history of Sir William Cecil, partly because they serve to illustrate the secretary's character, and to bring the spirit and temper of the times vividly before the mind's eye: but principally because Sir Thomas Gresham is to be distinctly traced throughout them all,—and always at Sir William Cecil's right hand. It has been, moreover, no slight additional motive for entering into the history of the period with minuteness, that the present seems precisely the epoch of most importance in the commercial annals of Elizabeth's reign. It put an end to the ancient intercourse between England and the Low Countries; or rather, it effectually directed commerce into a new channel: so that, although Sir Thomas Gresham still had a "doer" settled at Antwerp, he was no longer connected with that city by the same ties as formerly: and a new leaf is turned in his history, to which we shall direct our attention as soon as a few passages have been discussed, which claim precedence chronologically.—The breach with Spain which the seizure of the treasure had occasioned, since it no longer affects our principal character, may be here dismissed. It will suffice to observe that a blow

had been inflicted on the Duke of Alva which he never recovered ; and it was only in consequence of the hopelessness of the case, and the loudly proclaimed discontent of his own ruined merchants, that the matter became finally adjusted. But it was not till the 25th of March, 1572, that articles were drawn up between Elizabeth and the King of Spain “for setting at liberty of the intercourse of merchandize :” and the relative value of the goods arrested in Flanders and in England being very much in favour of the latter country, Philip had in addition a powerful inducement, two years after, for authorizing the signature of an “accord for the restitution of goods arrested in 1568 :” * to which final arrangement Sir Thomas Gresham was accessory, as appears by the letter he received on the occasion from Lord Burghley and Sir Walter Mildmay.”

As regards the Duke of Alva, however, it is evident that historians^e are not correct in referring to his disappointment on this occasion, his exorbitant demands on the Low-Country merchants : since, as we have seen, those exactions had been attempted, and with some success, as far back as November 1567. But they were now redoubled, and went far to annihilate what little

* Murdin's State Papers, p. 773.

^d Add. MS. No. 5755, fol. 38.

^e Vander Vynckt, vol. i. p. 296. Hume, vol. v. p. 195. Lingard, vol. viii. p. 126, &c.

commerce remained in the unhappy land, with whose destinies the author of them had been entrusted. Meanwhile, the cause of popery in this country merged into that of Mary Queen of Scots, so tragical in its termination. Norfolk expiated his crime on the scaffold in 1572; and with this event were exterminated the hopes of many of the nobility, whose treasonable practices had rendered them almost as guilty as that illustrious peer. They lived to see the Protestant religion triumphant, and their political enemy exalted to the highest pinnacle of greatness which a statesman can hope, with innocence, to attain.—Englishmen should never forget their obligations to Sir William Cecil.

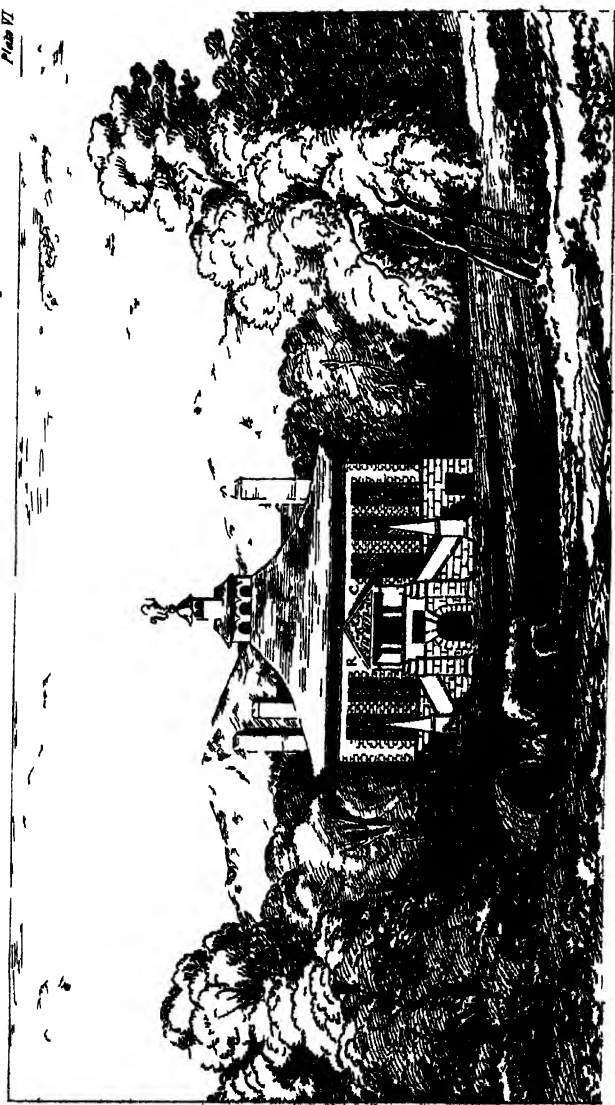
In order to follow up the affair of this memorable rupture with Spain without interruption, we have been compelled almost to lose sight of Richard Clough; who, when a quotation was last made from his letters, was passing the close of the year 1567 at Antwerp. His visits to England seem to have occurred generally at some holiday period,—as Christmas, or Easter; and since his correspondence altogether terminates with a letter dated in the middle of December, it is fair to conclude that he availed himself of that opportunity to revisit the land of his birth.

It would be more proper to speak of Clough's visits to *Wales*: for that he regularly bent his

steps thither, when he could be spared from Antwerp, is incontestably proved by the interesting traces yet discoverable of what engaged his attention about this period of his life in that country. We have seen that in the month of April, he returned from his Fatherland a married man; and this is, perhaps, as fitting a place as could be chosen for hazarding the conjecture that he had been conducted into the neighbourhood of the heiress of Berain, (the object of his subsequent choice,) by the care of superintending the goodly structure represented in the opposite plate. Over the entrance is to be distinguished in iron characters the letters R. C., and the date 1567. This curious mansion is situated in Denbighshire, and within the last few years has been suffered to go to decay; but Pennant^f saw it while it was in a perfect state, and describes it as a mansion and three sides, enclosing a square court. The first consisted of a vast hall and refectory; the rest of it rose into six wonderful stories, including the cupola; and formed, from the second floor, the figure of a pyramid. In an oriel window were several specimens of painted glass; representing the arms of the knights of the Holy Sepulchre, those of Richard Clough^g quar-

^f Tour in Wales, vol. ii. p. 24.

^g My friend, the Rev. A. B. Clough, describes them as follows : Quarterly, 1st and 4th az. a greyhound's head coupé argent,



"BACHEORAIQ, NEAR DENBIGH A RESIDENCE OF SIR RICHARD CLOUGH
"S."

tered with the arms of augmentation he received on his return from Jerusalem, with a heart beneath, and the letters ^R_s ^C surmounted by the date 1567, and the motto *cor unum via una*; there, too, were to be seen the arms of Elystan Gloddryd, Burghley, Stanley, Middleton, and some other Welsh families; together with those of Sir Thomas Gresham, and of the several kingdoms with which those eminent merchants traded.—Such is Pennant's narrative, but it is evidently very loosely written; Clough received no arms of augmentation, as far as is known, on his return from Jerusalem, though he seems to have introduced into his shield certain bearings which might be considered as symbolical of his pilgrimage. Immediately preceding the preface will be found one of his seals, on which the Jeru-

between three mascles of the last. 2nd and 3rd or, a lion passant az. crowned; on a chief of the last, a Jerusalem-cross between four cross crosslets gules; on either side a sword argent, handled or. But Randle Holme (Harl. MS. 1971. fol. 95) has given them somewhat differently, viz. in the first quarter *a mascle, between three greyhounds' heads*; and he considers the preceding as an innovation introduced by the great-grandchildren of Sir Richard Clough. He also blazons the cross, and cross crosslets on the chief in the second quarter, *or* instead of *gules*, (which is certainly incorrect, see vol. i. page 239,) and the lion in the field wears no crown.—Such fragments of the painted windows as are yet in existence, are, however, decidedly in favour of the coat as borne at present. The crest is a *demi-lion rampant az. holding in dexter paw a sword argent, handled or.*

saalem-cross is quartered with a wheel and sword, —the badge of the knights of St. Katharine of Mount Sinai, an order to which he perhaps also belonged ; and this, Pennant informs us, existed likewise in the stained glass windows of Clough's residence. The heart, &c. which he mentions, was doubtless the same representation as is found on Clough's large seal ; and the motto, which was Lord Burghley's, was in all probability associated with the armorial bearings of the same nobleman.

Bachegraig—for so this curious mansion was called,—was not only erected in the Dutch style of architecture, but the bricks of which it was built appear to have been manufactured either in Holland, or by Dutchmen upon the spot ; for in certain pits near the house, were lately to be seen specimens of similar structure. The model of the house was probably brought from Flanders, where this species of building was not unfrequent. In an elegiac poem by a Welsh bard, to be more particularly noticed hereafter, the following verses occur :—

“ At Bachegraig he rear'd a stately pile
Of strong materials, which he brought from Antwerp.
Thence, too, his mansion's marble pillars came.”

These statements create no surprise, after the evidence which has already been adduced relative

to the materials of which the Burse was constructed. In another elegiac poem, to be hereafter quoted, Bachegraig is mentioned as "the Cologne-walled." The country-people used to say that Clough's house had been built by the devil in one night, and that the architect always reserved to himself one of the apartments.

This curious structure stands in a shady valley, half-buried in woods; but in order to secure to himself the advantages of a more elevated situation, Sir Richard (as he was called in Wales) commenced at the same time building the mansion house of Plâs-Clough, (or Clough-Hall,) which stands on a beautiful elevated bank, and commands a fine view both of the town of Denbigh, and of the whole vale of Clwyd. In the vignette which precedes the former chapter, a representation of this house has been given; bearing over the porch the date 1567, and awakening Flemish recollections in its style of architecture. So that, having commenced erecting these two residences, in which he no doubt contemplated retirement in his declining years, it is no matter of surprise that we should in future miss Clough from Antwerp, which had become the scene of perpetual strife and disturbance. That he continued to reside in Flanders throughout the year 1568, can be shown; but as an autograph

proof of this can scarcely be said to exist, and we trace him there only in the months of January, February, April, August, and November, it seems allowable to draw a little on imagination; and in fancy follow him during the intervals into Wales, where we behold him in the solitude of his native mountains,—surrounded by his kindred, to whom he had so many strange stories to relate of distant climes and foreign manners; and planning schemes of domestic happiness which he was destined never to realize.

It is difficult to account for the sudden cessation of a correspondence, which had before been so frequent and regular, except by supposing that its author was able by oral communication in a great measure to supply the deficiency. The Low Countries, however, had become to such a degree unsettled, (as the preceding review of Flemish history has shown,) that it is possible Clough now wrote seldomer than ever; in which case we must also conclude, that for some reason his letters were no longer preserved as they had formerly been. The only scrap of his writing in existence (as far as the writer knows) after January 1568, is a list of names of persons “slain on the Duke’s side, Nov. 12, 1568;” after which, we altogether lose sight of him till January 1569, —when Lord Cobham, in a letter to Sir William

Cecil, (which has been already quoted in its proper place,) states that he had learned the arrest of the English merchants at Antwerp from a messenger "sent from Clowthe, Sir Thomas Gresham's man, to let his master to know of yt."

The certainty that Clough was at Antwerp in January, renders it more than probable that he is the person alluded to by De la Mothe Fénélon, the French ambassador, in his despatch dated the 21st of March; wherein, after enumerating several indignities of which Queen Elizabeth complained, he writes:—"Secretary Cecil has sent me word, in the name of the Queen, that in addition to the preceding, another very great insult has been offered her at Dieppe, in the arrest and detention of one of her subjects,—agent of Sir Thomas Gresham, her factor; who had contrived to effect his escape out of Flanders, in order to convey letters to the Queen from sundry of her servants, as well as to present an account of the recent events, which greatly regarded her Majesty's service. He had been called a traitor; and his enemies threatened that they would send him to the Duke of Alva, bound hand and foot,—all which I was assured had displeased the Queen more deeply than Mr. Secretary could express." ^b Cecil did not require to be urged by Sir Thomas Gresham on such an occa-

^b *Dépêches de la Mothe*, vol. i. p. 274.

sion: he was sufficiently aware of Clough's merit himself; and there can be no doubt that his remonstrances to La Mothe effected his friend's speedy release from confinement, and return to London.

It will be remembered that, so far back as the year 1563, when the first arrest of the English at Antwerp took place, by order of the Duchess of Parma,—in consequence, as it was alleged, of the plague which at that time was raging in London,—it had been a subject of considerable debate whether it would not be more advantageous to the English company of merchant-adventurers to remove the staple from Antwerp to Emden or Hamburg. The subject had been often mooted at subsequent periods; and in the spring of 1564 the experiment had been actually tried with Emden,—the wool fleet being sent to that port.¹ In connexion with this subject, the following passage may not be unacceptable. It occurs in a letter which that rough soldier, Sir Francis Knollys, addressed to Queen Elizabeth from Bolton, (where he was watching over Mary Queen of Scots, during her confinement,) on the subject of the Duke of Alva's conduct, when he learned the detention of his treasure at Plymouth and Southampton:—"Although I am so tediouslie wearied with this impro-

¹ Stowe's Chronicle, ed. 1614, p. 656.

per and unconformable service, (in place where I have neither land, livinge, rule, friends, acquaintance, kynne, nor alliance correspondent,) that my wittes are over-dulled to conferr or consider of forrayne matters effectuallie ;—yet, being informed by master secretary of the audacious boldness of the Duke of Alva, in this unseasonable tyme for hym to spitt owte his poysoned malice against your Majestie,—the feare of the perill that I suppose he presumeth will issue to your Majestie hereby, to his great advantage, will not suffer me to be utterlie silent herein.

“ But, for the better daunting of this audacious boldness of the Duke of Alva, I would to God your Majestie had better maintained the traffick of merchaunts to Emden ; the which was begun upon the stay of the traffick between the Low Countries, and this, your Majestie’s realm. In the which action, I am persuaded that your Majestie had gotten the victory, (to your singular benefit and greate commodity, and freedom of your merchaunts,) if your cause had not bin then to the full defrauded by the bosome-creepinge Italians, with thir pretty presents ; and by the smooth-tongued Spanishe ambassador, with his coloured provisions and other pretty toyes ; and by abusing of ladies and others, with sutes to your Majesty for strange wares to come in ; and, most speciaillie, by the fowl

corruption of your customers, and suche like officers: and your Majestie's mylde disposition to tolerate such corrupt deceavers, rather than to prosecute them, which was a small encouragement towards true service. Of the which corrupte deceits, I was made too privie by your Majestie's speciall commission, and particular commandment to enquire with others thereof.”^j

This passage, though not very luminous, suffices to show, that owing to some sinister proceedings, a flourishing branch of commerce, and one which was susceptible of considerable improvement, had been suppressed at its commencement; or, at least, that the fostering hand of government had been withheld from it. There was another port, however,—that of Hamburg, which had all along divided opinion with Emden; and hither our merchants directed their attention in 1567, when they entered into an understanding with the Hamburg senate, and commenced an active trade with that city.

^j Copy, (in duplicate,) Jan. 17, 1568-9.—Dom. Corr. St. P. Off. The writer proceeds:—“But nowe I had need to fall down prostrate before your Majestie to pardon my rudeness, yf it be pardonable, because it is private and proceedeth of good will; for otherwise, I stande in very harde termes with your Majestie. For to please your eye I cannot; since Nature hath not given it me: and to please your eare I would be fayne; but my callinge, myne othe, and my conscience doe force me to rudeness.”

That this was not a sudden event, or the result of accident, but that it had been brought about by repeated negotiations, is clearly seen from the papers relative to this period, existing among the archives of Hamburg. The senate of that town had invited our merchants thither in March, 1564, offering them several immunities and privileges ; of which Mr. John Mershe and the English company would have gladly availed themselves, (said they,) had they not made arrangements for a voyage to Embden, which at the time of their writing (May 1st) it was too late to cancel. The year 1566 brought the negotiation nearer to issue ; for we find that George Gilpin, secretary to the fellowship, was despatched to Hamburg in order to arrange the necessary preliminaries for making that city the resort of the English merchants : and in the following year, the proposed departure of certain commissioners, who were to negotiate at Hamburg respecting the senate's letter to the queen of the 17th of March, 1564, met with her hearty approbation. It was not till the end of April, however, that these persons (who should have set out in March) took their final departure. Their names were Francis Robinson, Francis Beninon, and John Pawley.

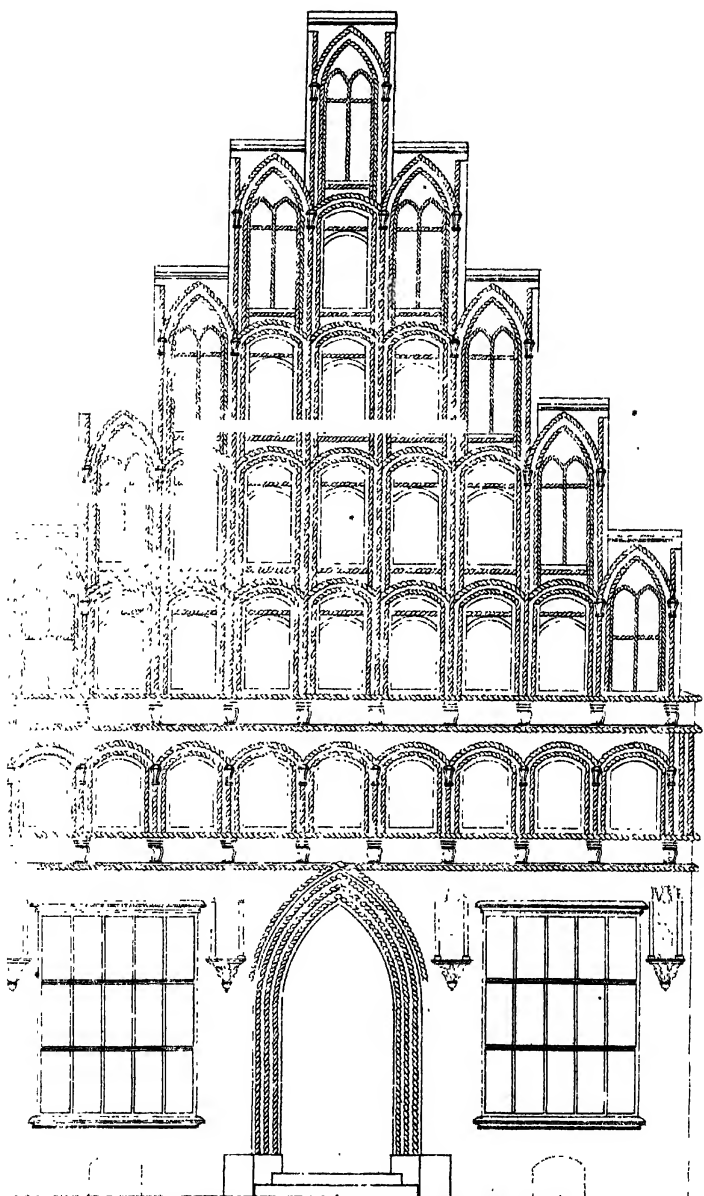
No attention was paid to a petition of the Hamburg merchants, dated June 5, 1567, against the

THE ENGLISH-HOUSE.

admission of the English settlers ; for, on the 19th of the following month, sundry privileges were granted by the senate to our countrymen for the space of ten years ; being summed up in fifty-six articles,—by the first of which, the senate signified their intention of procuring the houses which belonged to H. Von Zeven and the heirs of T. Rode, situated in the Groninger-street, for the use of the fellowship, until a more convenient place could be found for their accommodation. The same document declares that the “ Eimbecker Haus,” (where our merchants were probably residing at the time,) was unfit for their use. At the city’s expense, the houses above alluded to were obtained for the English company ; and the site continued to be occupied by the same body, until their final departure from Hamburg at the commencement of the present century. In the opposite plate, a correct representation will be found of the building they inhabited, which was known by the name of the English-House.*

As long as the commerce with Rouen, Rochelle, Bourdeaux, and other ports of France was

* For the original of the annexed engraving, I am indebted to my friend Mons^r A. Chateauneuf of Hamburg. The learned archivist of the same city, my friend Dr. Lappenberg, was obliging enough to furnish me with transcripts from documents in his custody, whence the preceding historical notices have been derived ; and of which I regret that my limits do not enable me farther to avail myself.



THE ENGLISH HOUSE, HAMBURG.

GRANTED TO THE ENGLISH MERCHANTS BY THE CITY OF HAMBURG IN 1357, TOLLERD DOWN ABOUT 20 YEARS

not interdicted,—and especially as long as Antwerp was accessible to the fleet of the merchant-adventurers,—neither Emden nor Hamburg, to which our countrymen were comparatively strangers, were able to acquire much favour ; but the breach with Spain and the Low Countries in December 1568, and the capture by the French of sundry English vessels which traded to their coast for wines, and other commodities,¹ altogether changed the aspect of affairs. At first, a general stagnation took place, which rendered the manufacturing and trading portion of the community dissatisfied with their rulers. The enemies of Cecil desired nothing so much as to witness the progress of a sentiment of discontent among the people ; for, by absenting themselves from the meetings of the privy-council, they made it appear to all, that it was Sir William Cecil, and none other, who must be responsible to them for whatever consequences might result from the foreign policy of the empire,—since this was vested in his person alone.^m The queen and her favourite minister must have been sadly perplexed at that moment ; coinciding as they did in the general

¹ See the petition of the English merchants, whose merchandise had been arrested at Rouen, in January 1569.—*Dépêches de la Mothe*, vol. i. p. 174.

^m *Ibid.* p. 204.

opinion, that the total suspension of all future traffic with the dominions of 'the Catholic kings', (as Philip of Spain and Charles of France were emphatically called,) would prove the utter ruin of the commerce of England; and thus, by striking at the source of the country's wealth, in a short time effect the ruin of the empire. The choice seemed to lie between annihilation on the one hand, and a return to popery on the other; for there was apparently no third alternative, unless indeed the following passage will bear such an interpretation. It occurs in a MS. fragment preserved among the State-Papers, bearing date January 1568-9, and endorsed by Sir William Cecil "the Earl of Arundel to the Queen's Majesty." "The King of Spain hath given full power to the Duke of Alva, and his ambassador here resident, to treat and conclude with the Queene, my mistress, for mariage, iii severall ways. Either with himself, or with Archduke Charles, or with Don John of Austria: and she agreeing thereunto, they have full power to assist her, as well within this realme, as in all other places." But the hand of Providence is to be clearly recognised in the subsequent march of events, by which the enemies of Protestantism were miserably thwarted and caught in their own snare. The blow recoiled

on those who dealt it. *Philip*, and not Elizabeth, became the sufferer by Alva's crooked policy ; and the commercial greatness of England, so far from being destroyed, was for the first time established on a solid basis when it arose on the ruins of that of Spain.

In the month of January (1569,) the project of removing the staple to Emden was again mooted ; ° but the proposal was at once overruled in favour of Hamburg, since, on the 20th of February, La Mothe wrote from London as follows :—" I hear that two fleets are on the point of sailing from hence : one, consisting of fifteen ships freighted with cloths, the merchants destine for Hamburg ; in which city (being free and of good discharge) they mean to try whether their affairs cannot be more successfully conducted in future, than they could reasonably hope would be the case at Antwerp, under the dominion of the Spaniards. The other fleet consists of twenty-five or thirty ships, which are to go in quest of salt to Brouage,—there being no expectation of obtaining any white salt this year from the Low Countries, whence the English merchants have been mostly accustomed to receive it." ʳ But in Queen Elizabeth's reign, a voyage to the northern coast of Germany, or to a port in the Bay of Biscay, was not to be rashly

° *Dépêches de la Mothe*, vol. 1. p. 166. ʳ *Ibid* p. 201.

undertaken. A month had elapsed, when La Mothe wrote as follows :—" The fleets which, as I told you in my former letters, the English were preparing to send to Hamburg and the aforesaid port of La Rochelle, have both received orders to delay their departure for a few days : nevertheless, the fleet destined for Rochelle has begun to sail out of the river; consisting of a greater number of ships than I originally mentioned, and all half-armed like ships of war, after the English custom. It is undecided whether Mr. Winter, the vice-admiral, or Mr. Holstock, comptroller of the navy, will take the command of the Rochelle fleet; and whether it will be convoyed by more than two of the queen's great ships, as was at first proposed. It will be desirable that your Majesty should cause the intelligence of the sailing of the English fleet to be sent all along the coast of France, as I have already mentioned to the Mareschal de Cossé: always abstaining from any show of hostility towards the English, provided they offer no provocation; unless your Majesty is desirous of becoming involved in a fresh war with this nation, for which they are but too well disposed."^a To this, the writer adds the following interesting passage: " The intentions of the English with the naval armament they have been equip-

^a Ibid. p. 270-1.

ping, are apparently threefold. First, they intend a voyage to Rochelle, as I have already stated; and *that* in such force, as to preclude the possibility of any impediment being offered them, either in going or in returning. Secondly, they mean to convoy their cloth fleet, being of the value of 4 or 500,000 crowns; to Hamburg; and intend to sail within sight of Holland and Zealand, cutting as gallant a figure and making as warlike a display as they are able, before the Duke of Alva; who, they are told, is arming a great many large and small vessels (*ourques et roberges*) in order to intercept their passage. Thirdly, Sir John Hawkins has undertaken to revenge the injury which the Spaniards did him at Mexico; and intends, next July, laying in wait at the Azores, with a good naval force, for the arrival of the Spanish fleet from the West Indies: in the mean time, he will, if he is able, surprise the Portuguese fleet, (consisting of two great galleons,) which returns from the West Indies in May.”

April arrived, and we are told that, by order of Queen Elizabeth, seven of her large ships of war, manned and armed in the best style, were being made ready in order to convoy the Hamburg fleet; which carried cloth to the value of upwards of 500,000 crowns: it having been given out

that the Duke of Alva had forty-five armed vessels in Zealand ready to intercept them. The whole fleet (consisting of twenty-two great ships, besides some smaller ones which were to sail in company,) was well equipped, and manned with 2500 of the best sailors in England; besides many noblemen and gentlemen, who proposed taking their passage. It was the intention of this armament to pass in sight of Holland and Zealand:—the queen now urged their departure, lest the Duke of Alva should strengthen his fleet; and it was expected that the natives of Hamburg, as well as the King of Denmark, would come out, in some force, to receive them. “I hear,” says La Mothe, “that the professors of the new religion [the Protestants] having failed in procuring money in London, have solicited that Sir Thomas Gresham, the Queen’s factor, should go over to Hamburg with this fleet, in order to take up money in that city.”*

The ships for Rochelle, commanded by Sir John Basing, sailed on the 23rd of April, 1569:† and the formidable armament destined for Hamburg left the river soon after; augmented to the number of twenty-eight vessels, all well equipped, and under the command of Admiral Winter.‡

* Ibid. pp. 300-26-39.

† Ibid. p. 336. See also on this subject, pp. 353-4.

‡ Ibid. p. 355. See also p. 368, and pp. 373-87-8.

This fleet was detained by contrary winds off Harwich, till the middle of May; but before the 27th, it had reached its destination in safety.

I have laid some stress on this event, because it was in many respects an important one. Besides its commercial, historical, and ecclesiastical interest,—for Sir Henry Killegrew at Hamburg, as well as Sir Thomas Gresham in London, were now commissioned to furnish the Protestants in Germany with pecuniary aid,*—it has peculiar claims on our attention of a private nature. There seems to be no room for doubt, that our old friend Richard Clough on this occasion went over to Hamburg, in the honourable capacity of Deputy of the fellowship of the merchant-adventurers. His late detention by the French at Dieppe, and the suspicious eye with which he must have been regarded at Antwerp as Sir Thomas Gresham's habitual correspondent, naturally rendered a residence in the latter city no longer compatible with his personal safety. He must have arrived in London when the fleet of the merchant-adventurers was on the eve of its departure for Hamburg; and he probably enjoyed that degree of reputation, which made his fellow-merchants anxious to secure him in their interests, in order

* Ibid. pp. 387-8, and 418.

that they might profit by his experience and abilities in their new place of abode.*

It would have been interesting to possess Clough's letters written from Hamburg,—especially his earlier ones; when his situation had the charm of novelty, and one might have expected to find some of the events of that stirring period reflected in his correspondence. But his connexion with Gresham was now severed; and in our national repositories there exists not a scrap in his hand-writing, illustrative of his fate. We learn from another source, that the situation of Hamburg was found commodious, and the locality agreeable. The great drawback was the length of the passage; the obstacle occasioned by the ice during the winter months; and the consequent difficulty of communication with England.' The reader may perhaps remember the opinion of the natives which Clough had offered a few years

* In a letter which Clough wrote to Gresham from Antwerp, Nov. 30th, 1567, occurs the following passage relative to the deputyship, which I am not able to explain: "I have received your Mastershippe's of the 22nd of this present, and therinclosyd a letter from M^r Governor to the Company in my behalf, for the dyscharging of me of the Deputyship: which, as yet, is not read; but [it] shall be, tomorrowe, or on Tuesday, which I think will suffice." [Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.] Would it not seem from this, that the post of deputy to the English factory at *Antwerp* had been offered to Clough in 1567, and declined?

† *Dépêches de la Mothe*, vol. i. p. 408.

before: "a kind of people rude, and nothing inclyned to our nature; envious and beggerley both of goods and wytts; incivill in manners, and withowte all mercie where they are masters." But this harsh censure was probably the language of prejudice.

Though our own archives yield no information respecting this interesting character at the present period of his life, those of Hamburg supply us with a letter addressed to the senate of that city, signed "Rychard Cloughe, debyte," which is unfortunately without a date, but may be referred with certainty to the year 1569. This letter was perhaps one of Clough's earliest official acts. Its object was to obtain the senate's sanction of certain handicraftsmen, who had followed the English merchants from Antwerp to their new residence, and whom the company had appointed to make their shoes and clothes,—partly on account of the difference of their fashion; and partly on account of the scarcity of tailors in the town.* Our remaining glimpses of Richard Clough are few, and (with one exception) unsatisfactory. Killegrew writes to Cecil on the 5th of June,—“if any letters come to me from your honnor, I have taken good or-

* For a transcript of the original letter, which is in Latin, I am indebted to my kind friend Dr. Lappenberg, keeper of the archives at Hamburg.

der with Mr. Clough, at Hamburg, to send them safely after me :”^a subsequently to which, we hear no more of him until the month of January 1570, when the following notice occurs in a paper which bears neither signature nor address, but is endorsed—“Advertisements from Hamburg, January 5th, 1570.” It shows that, during the commencement of their sojourn in that city, our countrymen found it in any thing but a settled state. “Some suspecte the kinge meaneth to do some exployte against this towne, for he hath long threatened the same. Some gave it out that his Grace hadd wrote lately to this towne [Hamburg,] to have a some of money of them towards the payment of his soldiers in his late warrs with Sweyden, which they refewsed to furnishe. How it is, we knowe not; but they furnishe their walls with artillery, and watch day and nighte, and their boores and neyghbours bring into the towne all their substance. And they have prohibited that none of their Burgers or indwellers shall depart the towne, or send away anny of his goods without consent of the lords, uppon payne of life and goods. All which, with many other strange brewtes given out, considered, we thought good to require Mr. Deputie [Richard Clough] to goo to the Borough master

^a German Corr. St. P. Off.

to learne the effect of it. Since that, the said Mr. Deputy hath had conference with other of the Lords, and they be all in one tale; in good hope that no such thing is meant by the King presently.”^b

Such, then, is the history of the early commercial connexion between England and Hamburg. We have seen that, in consequence of the reiterated overtures of the latter city, our merchants were drawn thither, when the ruined trade of Antwerp made that port no longer available for commercial purposes. The privileges granted them, and the house assigned for their residence, in 1567, may be considered to fix the epoch whence their settlement is to be dated. Four ships, by way of trial, were sent thither in 1568; and in 1569, as just stated, a large armament was equipped to the same port. From this period, Hamburg began to acquire importance,—emerging from the same utter obscurity as had characterized Antwerp, up to the time when it was resorted to by our countrymen.

Leaving Mr. Deputy awhile at Hamburg with his wife and little ones, we return to Sir Thomas Gresham in London. The connexion between those two worthies was now unfortunately dissolved; so that the most fertile source of

^b German Corr. St. P. Off.

information respecting our principal character becomes henceforward closed: but we derive hints from other quarters, which show that he was leading by no means an inactive life in London during this period of political and religious excitement. A lively picture of the state of public feeling in England during the year 1569, is to be found in the official correspondence of the French ambassador, La Mothe Fénelon, who was at that time resident at the court of Queen Elizabeth. The Protestants were all along unwearied in their endeavours to bring about a war with France; but it was the policy of Cecil to maintain a good understanding between the countries: and though each, in turn, affected indifference as to whether peace or war were resolved on by its rival, it is clear that each dreaded lest the latter alternative should be chosen. Our own domestic broils made it desirable, on our side, that amity should be maintained with the continent; while the movements of the Huguenot party in France, who had hitherto solicited the open co-operation of Queen Elizabeth in vain, and who desired nothing so much as such an opportunity of avenging their cause in good earnest, subdued whatever warlike propensities existed in the breast of Charles IX. Added to this, it was a notorious fact, that

England was well provided with arms and ammunition; Sir Thomas Gresham having furnished the country in preceding years (as the reader will remember) with military stores to an immense extent. Meanwhile, every occurrence which it was thought might in any way affect the relative position of France and England, was carefully watched by La Mothe, and as minutely recorded. Above all, he regarded with a jealous eye any proceeding which favoured the cause of the Protestants on the continent; for, to assist the Prince of Orange or his adherents was, obviously, to injure the French king. Thus, (as might have been expected,) he noticed with peculiar uneasiness the equipment, by an agent of the prince, of seven vessels lying in the river Thames, adapted for the transport of soldiers. He spared no pains to procure their detention,—dreading lest they should have been destined to aid the Huguenots at Rochelle; and he relates what passed between himself and the queen on the subject. Not a little rejoiced was he to discover that they finally sailed in the direction of the Low Countries: “Je suis bien aise d’avoir au moins obtenu de ceste Royne qu’ilz n’ayent, pour ceste foys, prins la route de France.”*

* *Dépêches de la Mothe*, vol. ii. pp. 141-5-52-66-7, 221-35-9 and 40. That is, from Aug. 5 to Sept. 19, 1569.

Still more difficult to be procured than arms and soldiers, were the pecuniary supplies which the Prince of Orange needed, to prosecute his military operations : and none of his efforts to obtain these escaped the vigilance of La Mothe. He has, in particular, noticed an endeavour to obtain a loan of money on the Queen of Navarre's jewels, for which herself and the principal of the Huguenot party stood bound as securities ; while Cardinal Chastillon and the Vydam de Chartres pledged themselves not to quit the country until the sum should be repaid. Two gentlemen, agents of the Prince of Orange, came from Rochelle to negotiate this business in London, and confided it to the experienced hands of Sir Thomas Gresham. La Mothe writes in the month of August, that while Queen Elizabeth was at Richmond, the cardinal gave the lords of the council a grand entertainment at his house at Sheen ; and shortly after, carried the jewels to court, where they were shown to her majesty, who was curious to see them. " The goldsmiths who were called in to value them," says La Mothe, " consider them worth 60,000*l*. I am told that the queen declines advancing any money upon them, but the sum required will be sought among the merchants ; and it seems that Sir Thomas Gresham (the greatest merchant in London, and

at the same time Queen's factor,) has undertaken to raise 30,000*l*. I am very much afraid he will succeed, whatever obstacles may be thrown in his way ; for it is impossible to prevent private individuals from assisting in this manner persons of their own persuasion, if they are bent on so doing." ^d

Promises of neutrality in this matter from Queen Elizabeth and her council, was the utmost that La Mothe was able to obtain ; for both, as he observes, were by this time in great perplexity as to what course they should pursue,—having declared pacific intentions towards France and Spain on the one hand, and having secretly lent the Protestants considerable assistance on the other : so that they were exposed to constant solicitations from the latter ; which, however inclined some of their number might have been, under other circumstances, to listen to, the dread of a war now obliged them to repel. " Her Majesty positively declares," writes La Mothe, " that she will lend no money on the Queen of Navarre's jewels : which declaration is made to satisfy your Majesty, and certain of her own counsellors. But Sir Thomas Gresham is secretly using all diligence to find in this city the 30,000*l*. I spoke of in my previous letters. Thus

^d July 27 and Aug. 5. 1569.—Ibid. pp. 98, and 140–1.

it is that the supplies raised in aid of Rochelle, both here and in Germany, are obtained on the Queen's credit, but without the privity or consent either of herself or her council, and often in direct opposition to both; being conducted with such a degree of secrecy, that it gives me the greatest trouble to detect them." * Shortly after, when La Mothe, in the name of his king, declared that any loan of money would be an infraction of the treaty of peace between France and England, Queen Elizabeth assured him verbally that she would advance nothing on the jewels in question: that she had not even seen them; and that although she would fain have possessed a beautiful agate vase which her goldsmith had described to her, yet, considering from what quarter it came, she would have nothing to do with it. She added further, that to the best of her belief those precious objects had been transported into Germany by the second Hamburg fleet, which had then just set sail;† but La Mothe mentions that they had been deposited with Sir Thomas Gresham,—“principal merchant de Londres.”‡

How frequently at this period must it have been a subject of congratulation with Queen

* Aug. 10.—Ibid. p. 150-1.

† Concerning this second fleet, see La Mothe, vol. ii. p. 142, &c.

‡ Sept. 6 and 14.—Ibid. pp. 223, and 231. A description of the jewels is given at p. 222.

Elizabeth and her secretary, that they had listened in former years to the often repeated and urgent solicitations of Sir Thomas ; and supplied the country with those military stores which now kept the continent in awe, while they rendered England secure and independent!—In anticipation of a breach with some of our neighbours, war-like preparations continued to be made throughout the year, both at home and in Germany : and in September, among other serious indications of an approaching outbreak, La Mothe records an arbitrary enactment, that every parish in London, according to its extent and population, should provide itself with arms ; to be purchased from the Tower at prices fixed by the commissioners, of which Sir Thomas Gresham was the principal. By this means, a double object was effected : the citizens were put under arms, and a subsidy was raised. “ Moreover,” says La Mothe, “ a fresh supply of arms is thus obtained ; for those in the Tower have been kept there so long, that by dint of frequent scouring with sand, some are almost worn into holes, (*quasi percées à jour*).”^h The same writer informs us, that Sir Thomas Gresham contrived, secretly, to supply the merchants in London with money so effectually and dexterously, that by far the greater part of the

^h Sept. 1.—Ibid. pp. 197–8–9.

value of the two cloth fleets which had proceeded to Hamburg never came back to this country, but remained in Germany in order to strengthen the queen's credit, and enable her to raise levies whenever she should have need of them. La Mothe estimated the two fleets at 750,000*l.*, of which he said not more than one third would return to England in specie or merchandise.ⁱ In November, the Frenchman remarked with a sneer, that Gresham was busy raising 50,000*l.* among the merchants, "expecting in four hours to have succeeded; whereas he has been ten days raising 15,000*l.*:" but the writer altered his tone a short time after, when he suspected that an immense sum had been obtained, and perhaps sent into Germany through the young Count Mansfeld.^k How materially the good cause of Protestantism was aided by these and similar manœuvres, scarcely requires to be pointed out.

Many events occurred in the mean time, which prove that the financial resources hitherto available on the Bourse of Antwerp, must have been sadly missed by the state. A lottery had been granted in 1568, (the first which was ever held in London,) from which the queen had contrived to extract a prize of 100,000*l.* (!), to the no small

ⁱ Sept. 19.—*Ibid.* p. 238.

^k Nov. 30 and Dec. 21.—*Ibid.* pp. 371-2, and 406-7.

discontent and dismay of the citizens.¹ The Spanish merchandise which had been put under arrest at the first outbreak with the Duke of Alva, was slowly sold off as the crown had occasion for money :^m and the rials in the Tower, as the reader has been already apprized, were, at Gresham's suggestion, minted into the current coin of the realm. In 1570 subsidies were levied throughout England : and it is a curious fact, singularly illustrative of the poverty of the landed gentry at the period of which we are speaking, that though every family was taxed to the utmost, insomuch that lamentable complaints poured in from every quarter, thirty-two counties were able to furnish only 35,477*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*" By far the most important financial result, however, remains to be noticed. England has never so completely felt her own strength, as when she has been suddenly thrown back upon her own resources. Hitherto, the capabilities of her own merchants had been to a certain extent underrated ; or rather, those of Antwerp had thrown them into the shade : but when, at the present emergency, Sir Thomas Gresham came forward to represent the possibility of obtaining all the necessary supplies at home, the suggestion was well relished by the

¹ Ibid. vol. i. pp. 155 and 234. ^m Ibid. *passim*, e. g. p. 203.

ⁿ Dom. Corr. St. P. Off.—A. D. 1570, *passim*.

council, and he was commissioned to propose a loan to the merchant-adventurers. The terms which Gresham broached the matter to Cecil, were these. “Wheras your honnor doth now think some difficulty to paie anny monney to the Queene’s Majestie’s creditors beyond the seas,— Sir, in my opinion youe neede not to make any dowt therof, yf her Hyghnes do see her merchaunts well paid here in London this first sum: for bie that time the other monney shal be payable here bie the Queene’s Majestie to her said merchaunts, they shall have both plenty of monney at Hamborough, and [to] spare. Assuring you, the goodes that our merchaunts hathe shipped from Hambrough hither, is well worth 1 c m *li*. [100,000*l*.] and better: and the shipping that they make now from hens with our commodityes is richely worthe ij c m *li*. [200,000*l*.] and better; for that there wil be about xxx m [30,000] cloths, the custom wherof wil be worth to the Queene’s Majestie, at the least, x m *li*: whiche will discharg that debt, if it stand so with the Queene’s Majestie’s pleasure. Assuring you, Sir, I do know for certain, that the Duke de Alva is more trowblid with the Queene’s Majestie’s gret credit, and with the vent of her highness’ commodities at Hamborough, than he is with anny thing else, and quakes for feare: whiche is

one of the chifest things that is the let [impediment] that the said Duke cannot com by the tenth penny that he now demaundeth for the sale of all goods, anny kind of waye, in the Low-Country; (which, Sir, I beleve will be his utter undoing.) Therefore, Sir, to conclude, I would wishe that the Queene's Majestie in this time shuld not use anny strangers, but her own subjects; wherbie he, and all other princes, maie see what a Prince of power she ys."^o

Jealous, perhaps, of his agency, and anxious to screen themselves individually from blame, the company referred this question of granting a subsidy to a common-hall, where it was negatived by a show of hands.^p Nor was this proceeding on their part quite so unreasonable as has been represented; for it must be confessed that the Queen had taken no steps, as yet, to secure the confidence of the public in such matters. She was in the habit, when she wanted a small sum, to demand it peremptorily of one of the city companies; and on a certain occasion advised the Ironmongers, if they were unprovided with the amount she required,—(it was only 60*l.*!)—*to borrow it for her immediately, and pay the interest themselves!*^q—Gresham was aware of all

^o Lansd. MS., No. xii. art. 8.

^p Strype's Stowe, ed. 1720, book i. p. 283.

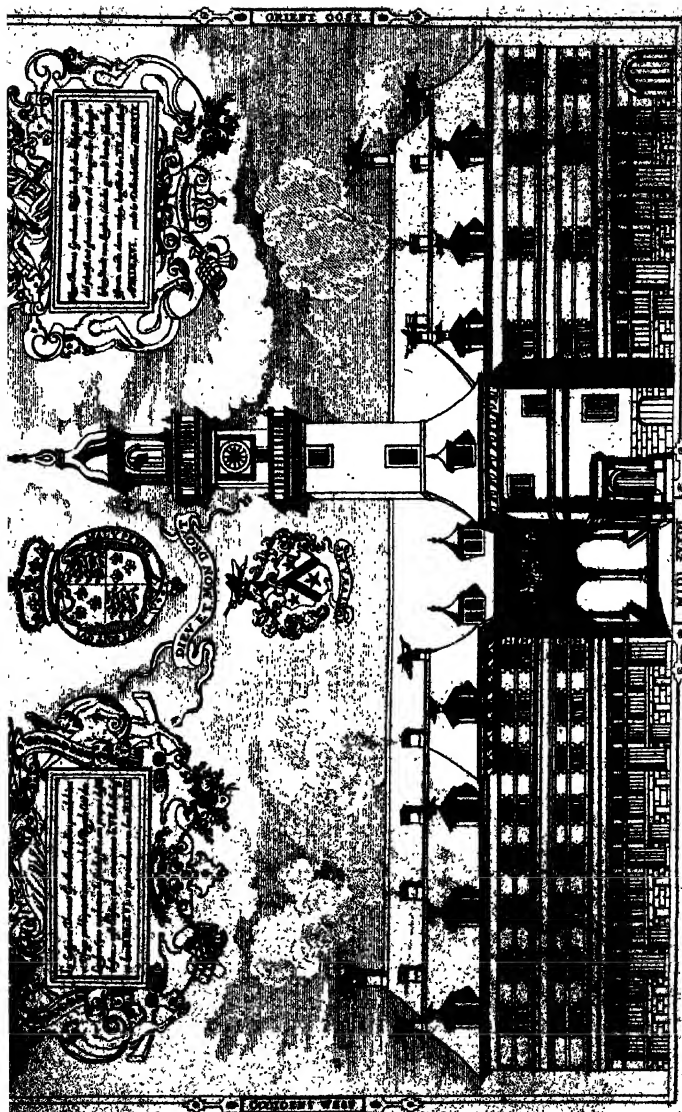
^q Malcolm's Londinum Redivivum.

this; but conscious of the imminence of the present emergency, and of the real benefit which might result, as well to the merchant as to the sovereign, if a loan could be negotiated to the satisfaction of both parties, he pretended great surprise and indignation at the reception which the queen's proposal had met with. At his instance, a letter was addressed to the city by the council, representing their displeasure at what had occurred; and alleging, that the proposal which had been made to them, having been intended as a mark of special grace and favour on the part of the queen, as such, should have been thankfully complied with: besides, the indecent manner in which they had shown their unwillingness to enter into the views of their sovereign, by referring the matter to a common-hall, they were told was very offensive; and they were expected to offer some explanation of their conduct. The offenders being thus rebuked, Gresham was enabled in November to take up in the city, of eight of the principal merchants and aldermen 12,900*l.*, and in December, of six others, 8,200*l.* more; to be repaid in six months, with interest at the rate of 12 per cent. per annum. The lenders on the 26th of November were, Sir William Garrard, Sir Roger Martyn, William Bond, Thomas Ramsey, and Nicholas Fountain and Pieter du Busquel, who lent 1500*l.* each;

Lionel Ducket, 2000*l.*; Benedick Spinola, 2100*l.*; and James Harvey, 1300*l.*: making, with the brokerage and interest, 13,811*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*—On the 1st December, Sir Thomas Legh, Rowland Hayward, John Ryvers, and William Allen, lent 1500*l.* each; and Lady Joan Laxton, and Francis Barnam 1100*l.* each: making (as before) 8780*l.* The schedules are signed by Sir Thomas, who has subscribed the former one with these words: “It maye like your honnor to understand, that to everye one of thes bondes the Queene’s Majestie must geve out her accostomyd bondes for the discharging of the statute of usuryes: wyche I wold wyshe myght be pressently set at libertye, yff it were possible; for the better accomplishinge of her highness’ enterprise.”’ This was said, because the ordinary rate of interest had been fixed by statute in the reign of Henry VIII. at 10 per cent.,—a statute which was confirmed, with the addition of some severe clauses, by Queen Elizabeth in her thirteenth year. When these sums became due in the following months of May and June, payment was deferred for six months more, and the engagements were renewed on the same terms. As the confidence of the merchants increased, loans were afterwards frequently negotiated between them and the state,—much to the convenience of the one party, and to the advan-

tage of the other ; for which both were indebted to the suggestions of Sir Thomas Gresham. To pursue the inquiry further, would be to overstep our limits, and altogether to go out of our way ; moreover, the subject seems more properly to belong to the political economist than to the writer of biographical history : but I may be permitted to remind the reader, that in reconciling the commercial interest to the idea of lending their money to the state, Sir Thomas Gresham was conferring an incalculable benefit on the country, besides benefiting his fellow-citizens to an immense extent. It was no small triumph, too, that a single individual should have succeeded in overcoming a prejudice which was entertained by so vast a body of persons, and which may be considered to have been coeval with the commerce of England itself. But what is still more deserving of remark, he eradicated by this means an evil of most ancient standing, which yearly impoverished the empire ; for the wealth of the community was henceforward kept within the realm ; instead of being periodically dispersed beyond seas, as had hitherto been customary.

Posterity has so identified the name of Sir Thomas Gresham with the Burse or Exchange, that in addition to the particulars concerning its erection which have been given in a preceding



EXTERIOR VIEW OF THE ROYAL EXCHANGE, 1569, FROM A SCARCE ENGRAVING.

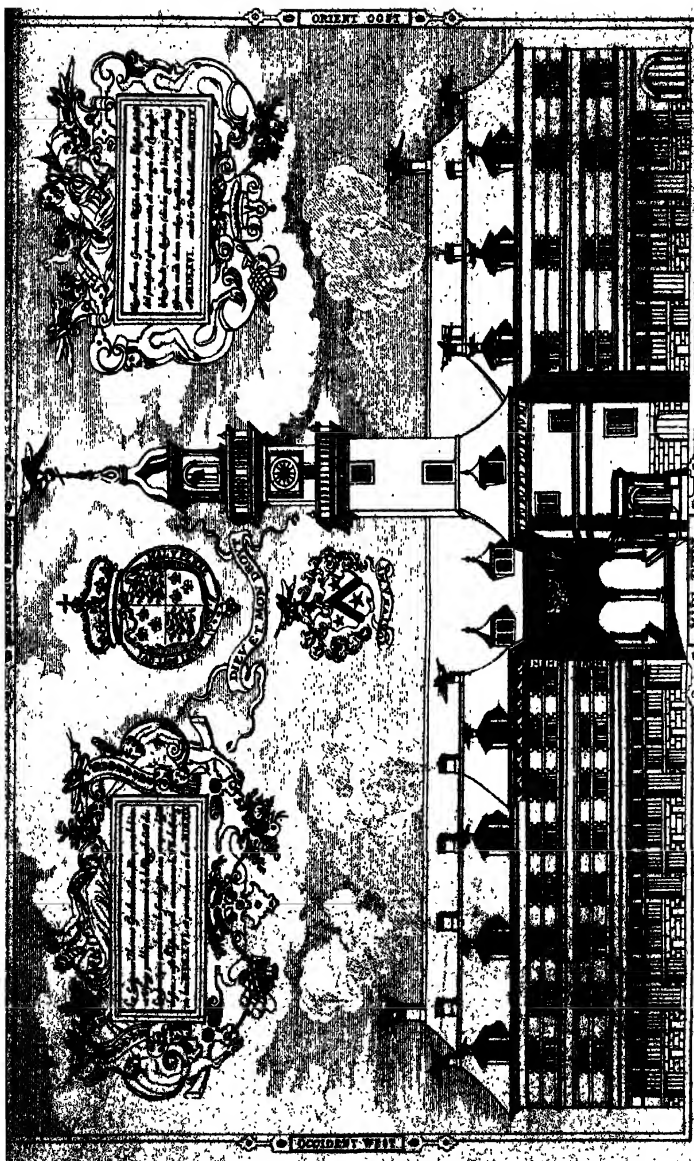
page, some account of the original structure may be reasonably expected. The merchants had been in the habit of holding their meetings within its walls ever since the 22nd of December, 1568 :* so that it becomes high time to offer a few words on this subject.

The viith and ixth Plates will convey a better idea of the external and internal aspect of the Bourse as it appeared in the time of Sir Thomas Gresham, than could be accomplished by the pen. The very great resemblance it bore to that of Antwerp, must strike every observer, and has already been accounted for : the tower which arose on one side of the entrance, containing the bell which twice a-day summoned merchants to the spot,—at twelve o'clock at noon, and at six o'clock in the evening,—is observable in both. Equally indicative of its Flemish origin is the style of the shops and upper windows in the English Bourse, which are precisely such as are to be seen represented in views of Antwerp. We read, in Strype's edition of Stowe, that the edifice was stuccoed over, in imitation of stone ;† but it is probable that this was a subsequent contrivance, and that its founder left it with the

* Stowe's Survey, ed. 1754, i. 475.

† Morgan's Sphere of Gentrie, iii. c. 6, p. 62.

Stowe's Survey, &c., B. ii. p. 49.



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* Stowe's Survey, ed. 1754, i. 475.

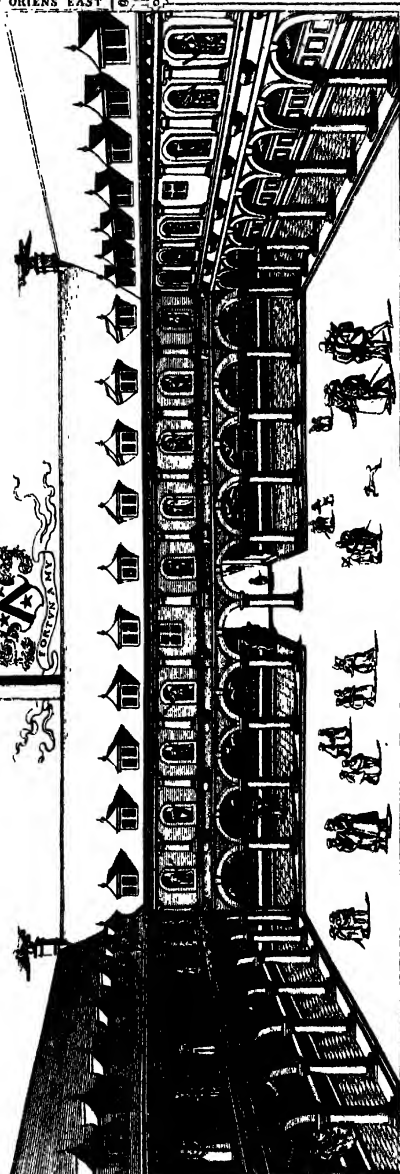
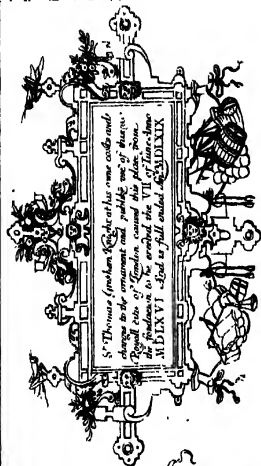
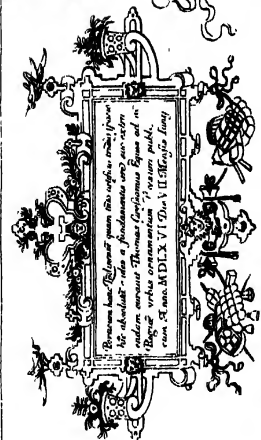
† Morgan's Sphere of Gentrie, iii. c. 6, p. 62.

‡ Survey, &c., B. ii. p. 49.

appearance of an edifice constructed of brick and stone,—like his own house in Bishopsgate-street, which was also built over piazzas.

The curious prints whence our viiith and ixth Plates are taken, are chiefly interesting from their antiquity;* having been executed in 1569, possibly by Gresham's order. The languages in which the inscriptions on each are written,—French, Dutch, Latin, and English,—denote that those views were addressed to, and intended to interest the strangers of all nations at that time assembled in London. From this early representation of the Burse we derive many curious particulars respecting its ancient appearance. A huge grasshopper, we find, was stationed over each of the four corners of the building; and the crest of the founder also surmounted a lofty Corinthian column, which is represented outside the north entrance, overlooking the quadrangle. It is remarkable, however, if this column really existed, that the only trace of it should be supplied by the present engraving; for it must have been a conspicuous object, commanding an extensive view of the environs of London, and, like

* They are of extraordinary rarity. A pair are in the Duke of Buckingham's collection, which he purchased of Graves for about 20*l*. Ward had his engraving made from a single plate, belonging to the Antiquarian Society; and another copy of the same is preserved in the Royal Library, portfolio xxiv.



the Monument, sufficiently capacious to accommodate observers on its summit. The grasshopper was also to be seen glistening on the summit of the square tower beside the south entrance, as appears in the print; and as Bishop Hall has recorded in one of his satires, where he draws a picture of "the brain-sick youth:"

"And now he plies *the news-full grasshopper*,
Of voyages and ventures to inquire." *

The Burse was supported on arches, having covered walks, and being adorned with statues of several of the sovereigns of England,^y as already mentioned. It had also, as was the case up to the period of its recent destruction, a statue of Sir Thomas Gresham near the north end of the western piazza,—the date of the erection of which is not known, but there occurs a Latin epigram on the subject in a little volume of poems published in 1629;^z and it is a remarkable fact, which was noticed and recorded at the time

* Book iv. sat. 6.

^y Not of all. See Walpole's *Life of Nicholas Stone*.

^z *Huntingdon Plumptre's Epigrammaton Opusculum*, &c. 8vo. 1629, (a rare little volume, dedicated to Sir John Byron, Kt. and containing verses by others of the Byron family):

"In statuam D. Tho: Gresham eq. aur. fundatoris ibidem positam:

Huic sua majori dignus supercesse colosso

Greshamus saxo tradidit ora rudi:

Sis marmor deforme licèt, quòd imago Greshami es,

Nec te Pyramidum nobile vincat opus."—*Epig.* 57.

by several writers, that when, in the great fire of 1666, the Exchange was consumed, and the statues of the kings displaced by the violence of the conflagration, that of Sir Thomas Gresham, the founder, alone retained its station uninjured. "The Exchange, a sad sight," says the communicative Pepys in his Diary, under 5th September, 1666; "nothing standing there of all the statues or pillars, but Sir Thomas Gresham's picture in the corner." A similar observation was made by Mr. John Evelyn, Edward Waterhous, T. Vincent, Samuel Rolle, and others.

The interest which Richard Clough took in this undertaking, may be inferred from the sentiments he had already expressed on the subject in 1561; and Fuller would have us believe, that he was something more than a zealous promoter of the work. "There want not," says that amiable writer, "who will avouch that some thousands of pounds were disbursed by him for the building of the Burse, or Royal Exchange;"^a and it must be owned, that his expressions in the letter we have elsewhere quoted are in favour of Fuller's story, though other evidence is altogether wanting to substantiate the fact.

"The form of the building," says a contemporary writer, "is quadrate, with walks round the

^a Worthies, ii. p. 594.

mayne building supported with pillars of marble; over which walkes is a place for the sale of all kinde of wares, richly stored with varietie of all sorts.”^b Hentzner, the German, when he visited England in 1598, was evidently struck with its appearance. “It has a great effect,” says he, “whether you consider the stateliness of the building, the assemblage of different nations, or the quantities of merchandise.”^c There were, in fact, walks above as well as below; the upper part of the building being divided into no less than one hundred small shops, from the rents of which Gresham proposed, in part, to reimburse himself for his outlay in its erection. An equal number of vaults were also dug beneath, adapted for the reception of merchandise; but these were found to be so dark and damp, that they soon became of little value.^d

Desirable for the display of wares as a shop must have been in a place of so much resort as the Burse, we learn from the chronicler who interested himself most in the history of the city, that for two or three years after its erection the shops remained ‘in a manner empty.’ Queen Elizabeth, however, having signified her intention

^b Norden’s *Speculum Britannia*, p. 35.

^c Paul Hentzner’s *Travels in England*, ed. 1797, p. 28.

^d Stowe’s *Survey*, ed. 1720, B. ii. p. 135.

of visiting the founder, and in person inspecting and naming his edifice, Gresham naturally became anxious to improve its appearance, and render it fitter for the reception of his royal guest. "He went" in consequence, says Stowe, "twise in one day round about the upper pawne, and besought those few shoppe-keepers then present, that they would furnish and adorne with wares, and waxe lights, as many shops as they either could or would, and they should have all those shops so furnished rent-free that yeere; which, other wayes, at that time was forty-shillings a shoppe by the yeere. And within two yeres after, hee rayased that rent unto foure marks a yeere; and within a while after that, hee raised his rent of every shoppe unto foure pounds tenne shillings a yeere, and then all shoppes were well furnished according to that time; for then the milliners or haberdashers in that place solde mouse-trappes, bird-cages, shooing-horns, lanterns, and Jewes-trumpes, &c. There was also at that time that kept shoppes in the upper pawne of the Royall Exchange,—armorours, that sold both olde and new armor, apothecaries, booke-sellers, goldsmiths, and glasse-sellers; although now it is as plenteously stored with all kinde of rich wares and fine commodities, as any particular place in Europe. Unto which place

many forraine Princes dayly send, to be served of the best sort.”*

It was in consequence of the season of the year at which Queen Elizabeth made her progress into the city, that Gresham required the aid of illumination to set off the Burse to advantage. Stowe relates, that on the 23rd of January, 1570-1, “the Queen’s Majesty, attended with her nobility, came from her house at the Strande, called Somerset-House, and entred the citie by Temple-bar, through Flecte-streete, Cheap, and so by the north side of the Burse, to Sir Thomas Gresham’s in Bishopsgate-streete, where she dined. After dinner, her Majestie returning through Cornhill, entered the Burse on the south side ; and after that she had viewed every part thereof above the ground, especially the pawne, which was richly furnished with all sorts of the finest wares in the city, she caused the same Burse by an herralde and a trompet to be proclaimed the *Royal Exchange*, and so to be called from thenceforth, and not otherwise.”†—Such is the brief account which has been transmitted to us of the event from which the Burse, as it was till then called, dates its present name ;

* Stowe’s Chronicle, ed. 1631, p. 868-9.

† Stowe’s Survey, ed. 1598, p. 151. This was the subject of a bas-relief over the south entrance of the Royal Exchange.

by one who was probably an eye-witness of the scene he describes. The only other contemporary notice I have met with of this memorable passage in the annals of the metropolis, occurs in the accounts of the churchwardens of St. Margaret's, Westminster; where it is recorded that the bell-ringers were paid 4*d.* "for ringing when the Queen's majesty went to the Bursse;" and 8*d.* "for ringing when the Queen's majesty went to Sir Thomas Gresham's and came back again."^s

In the collection of MSS. bequeathed by Bishop Tanner to the Bodleian library, is a Latin play^h in five acts, which bears the following title:—
 "Byrsa Basilica, seu Regale Excambium a Sereniss: Reginâ Elizabethâ in Personâ suâ sic Insignitum; año Dom: 1570. Mense Januar: 23^o die. Monumentum Mercuriale D. D. Thomæ Greshami Militis et Negotiatoris Regii; Qui suis solius sumptibus è solo erexit; dicavitq. tam Mercatori quàm Mercurio." This MS. is bound in vellum, and extends over ninety-five folio pages. The *dramatis personæ* are twenty in number; 'Rialto,' who stands foremost on the list, being the impersonation of Sir Thomas Gresham himself; while Mercury, who is not considered as one of the actors, pronounces the prologue and epi-

^s [Nichols'] Illustrations, &c. 4to. 1797.

^h MS. No. 207.

logue. The scene is laid in the Royal Exchange, "Augustæ Trinobantum," *i. e.* of London : and at the end occur these words,—"*Hoc Meum Vivum, I. Rickets.*"

The penmanship of this piece is fantastical in the extreme, and the style of composition insufferably ridiculous. Oblivion has displayed such partiality towards the author, that it has spared us nothing beyond his name ; and this account of a play hitherto unnoticed, is inserted merely because, viewed in connexion with the subject before us, the fact of its existence is curious. The piece appears to be of a date contemporary with the event which it is intended to celebrate ; and to judge from the style of the binding, &c. may have been a present from the author to ' Rialto ' himself.

There is besides extant, an indifferent play by Thomas Heywood ; which, as it describes the building of the Burse, and refers in every page to Gresham, must not pass unnoticed in his Life. It is in two parts, and bears the following titles :—
 " If you know not me, you know nobody ; or the troubles of Queen Elizabeth," 4to. 1606.—" The second part of Queen Elizabeth's troubles. Doctor Paries treasons : The building of the Royall Exchange, and the famous victory in ann : 1588." 4to. 1609.—Not that this drama is of any impor-

tance in a biographical point of view ; for so many of its incidents are decidedly fabulous, that the authenticity of the rest may reasonably be suspected : but it is interesting, inasmuch as it probably embodies some of the popular traditions concerning Sir Thomas Gresham which were current thirty years after his death ; and shows what marvellous tales of his wealth and extravagance obtained credit with the vulgar, at a time when many to whom he was personally known must have been yet living. Heywood has followed Stowe's narrative very faithfully till the queen comes to visit Gresham, and name the Burse ; but here the poet can no longer restrain his invention. Gresham purchases a pearl, which no one else could afford to buy, and, in imitation of Cleopatra, drinks it, reduced to powder, in a cup of wine :—

“ Here fifteen hundred pound at one clap goes !
Instead of sugar, Gresham drinks the pearl
Unto his queen and mistress : pledge it lords !”

It is enough, however, to have alluded to the existence of this play. That Gresham drank a *carouse* to the queen is not unlikely ; but there is no reason for believing that the royal merchant was addicted to such royal draughts as Heywood describes. The incident was probably borrowed from the history of Sir William Capel, of whom a similar story is related by Fuller in his *Worthies*.

The Exchange, when it was first erected, was a favourite resort of the citizens, and soon became a customary lounge for idlers of every description ; thus partaking of the nature of St. Paul's Cathedral, where it is well known that formerly as many bargains were made as there had ever been sermons preached. That this was the case with the Royal Exchange at a later period, can be illustrated by many apt quotations ; but the following extract from the Inquest-book of Cornhill Ward, bearing the early date of 1574, shows that the evils recently complained of were coeval with the building itself:—" The Exchange was presented for that uppon the Sondaies and holy daies there mete greate number of boyes and children, and younge roges ; who, as well in the forenoone as in the afternoone, make such shoutinge and hollowinge, that neither the honest citizens who walke there for their recreation can quietly walke, nor one heere another speake : neither can the parishioners in the church of St. Bartholomewe, near adjoyninge to the Exchange, or such others as come to the sermons ; therefore we most humbly praye that the same may be redressed."

Richard Clough, who had all along been so much concerned in the erection of the Bourse, and who may reasonably be presumed to have watched its progress, at a distance, with interest and plea-

sure, did not live to see the day from which that edifice dates its present name. He was cut off in the prime of life, and died of a lingering illness at Hamburg, (where he was residing in his official capacity of deputy of the fellowship of merchant-adventurers,) some time between the 11th of March and the 19th of July, 1570. What his age was at the time of his death, it is not easy to determine; but since he came into Sir Thomas Gresham's service in the year 1552, at which time he was probably quite a youth, (though sufficiently matured to have performed a pilgrimage to the Holy Land,) there is not much fear of material inaccuracy in supposing that Clough was about forty years old when he died. At that period we are to picture to ourselves his household as consisting of himself and his fair wife; his two infant children,—Anne, born in 1568, and Mary, born in the early part of the ensuing year: and lastly, two records of human frailty,—Richard and Winefrid Clough, whom their father mentions as his “base children, forren born.”

To Hamburg had also retired Duttonⁱ and Denne, two more of Gresham's servants, and ‘gossips’ of his principal factor, to whom they

ⁱ A specimen of Thomas Dutton's writing may be seen in the Lansd. MS. No. x. art. 64.—He became rich, and in his old age went to live at Isleworth, where he died in 1593. Prerogative Office. Dixy. quire 4.

were perhaps related ; so that these several persons, together with their respective families, may be presumed to have been domesticated ever since the spring of 1569, in the beautiful structure, of which a representation is given in Plate VII. ; and it was doubtless in that very house that Clough died, since it had been ceded to the English factory, in 1567, expressly for the accommodation of its members.

Memorable as this event was in the early annals of the infant society at Hamburg, Clough's death is not recorded in any correspondence of the period, as far as the writer has been able to discover ; and probably the only notice of his malady would be found in a letter which the senate of Hamburg addressed to that of Lubeck, requesting them to send their physician to attend on Richard Clough, whose health by that time must have been rapidly declining. The senate of Lubeck's reply to this application, preserved among the Hamburg archives, bears date the 11th of March, 1570, and is to the following effect :—

“ Our friendly greeting over, honourable and wise lords, our most propitious and good friends ! —We have received your honourable wisdoms' letter, requesting us to lend our physician, the worthy and learned Doctor Ernest Reuchlin, for the space of about ten days, to the court-master of

the English nation, because he labours under bodily weakness. We will not conceal from your honourable wisdoms that we cannot conveniently spare our physician ; nevertheless, considering that by our compliance a great service will be rendered to the said court-master,—for *his* benefit, and the rather at your friendly intercession, we have for this once, consented to part with him for the time specified ; with the understanding, however, that if in the meanwhile we should require his services and recall him, that then our present permission shall form no pretext for his detention.

“ This answer we do not hesitate to return to your honourable wisdoms ; and are at all times inclined to gratify you, as good neighbours. Given under our signet, the 11th of March, @70.

THE BURGOMASTER AND SENATORS
OF THE CITY OF LUBECK.”^j

At Antwerp there were one hundred and ten barber-surgeons ; but as yet, Hamburg was probably altogether deficient in such auxiliaries ; and the exorbitant manner in which it was customary in that age to remunerate the medical profession, renders it not surprising that so poor a city should have been unprovided with a regular physician. A more interesting inference from the preceding

^j Hamburg Archives, MS. communicated by Dr. Lappenberg.

letter seems to be, the great account in which Clough was held by the civic authorities of Hamburg : but more than this cannot unfortunately be gathered from its contents ; while the two following passages, which are the only allusions to his own health which occur in Clough's correspondence, are too vague to help us to any thing beyond conjecture as to the nature of the malady which occasioned his decease, and are perhaps hardly worth quoting. He wrote to Gresham on the 3rd of December, 1567, "I must make an ende, because I can nott wryte any longer ; for I have such a payne in my head, that I have not slepte one wyneke of all thys night ; and [it] is such as I never had in all my life." On the 14th he repeated the apology. "I must make an ende, because I am not able to wryte ; having nott slepyd in xii days and nights, nott 6 howrs." ^k

A brief letter, to be next inserted, contains the last distinct notice we possess of Richard Clough. It sufficiently tells its own story, and has every appearance of having been written only a short time after his death. The person addressed is Sir William Cecil.

"Right honnorable, my dutie remembred, &c. Whereas one Richard Cloughe, who was a dealer with the Duke of Macklumborowe's counsell att

^k Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

Hamborough in the Queene's Majestie's behalf, and receyved a lettre heretofore which was sent frome the Duke unto the Queene's Majestie ; and for so muche as no answere was sent of the same lettre, it pleased the Duke's grace to send this lettre, which I have brought with speciall charge that I should bring an answer of the same :—these are to desire your honnor that I maye have an answer of the same lettre for my discharge, with as much spede as may be ; for that I stay only butt for an answer.

“ And for so much as I was spoyled by the waye in cominge towards England by the Duke of Alva his frebeters [freebooters,] maye it please the Queene's Majestie and your honnor to consider me therein to her Majestie, and your honour's pleasure.—Thus, levinge to trouble you any further, I commend you to God. From London, the xixth day of July, 1570.

Your honnor's to command,

MICHAEL COULWEBER.”¹

Thus abruptly should we be compelled to take leave of our friend Richard Clough, but for the fortunate preservation of a document as interesting as it is authentic,—his will. It is amusing to trace the workings of the writer's mind during the last years of his existence. He began to write his

¹ German Corr. St. P. Off.

will "with his own hand" at Antwerp, on the 20th of September, 1568, when, as he says, he was "in right good health and merry." In this happy frame, he left his broad lands to his wife and children, and distributed among them and his relatives his valuables, ready money, and the rest of his property; only mentioning his master, to desire that 1200*l.* Flemish which he owed him, might be repaid in common with all his other just debts.^m But health and cheerfulness are, unfortunately, transient possessions: in the beginning of the year 1570, Clough seems to have felt his mortality: the hand of sickness was upon him; and calling his family round him, he drew up the following document, to which he set his hand, and which he made his wife and some others sign also.

"Be it known to all men by this present bill, that whereas I, Richard Clough, of late did make a will and testament of a former date, sithens [since] which time I have sundry and often times been moved in my conscience, that whereas I did wyn and conquest certain sums of my goods in the time of my servyce under and with my master,

^m On the 15th of February, 1569-70, he added a codicil to his will; whereby, among other legacies, he left *xxl.* to the Lady Gresham to buy a bracelet, and *xl.* to Anne, a natural daughter of Sir Thomas. On the 17th February he added a second codicil, and again on the 7th March a third.

Sir Thomas Gresham ; therefore, for the true discharge and releasing of my conscience, I do freely give to my said master, Sir Thomas Gresham, all my moveable goods (all my lands excepted) to do his pleasure therewith; and referre it to his will whether that he will suffer my wife, children, and friends to enjoy them, all or any parcel thereof, according to my last will and testament, or no. And for the true knowledge thereof, I have caused these few words to be written, and put to my hand in the presence of my wife Katharine Cloughe, Thomas Dutton, and Thomas Denne ; 26th February, 1569.

Your old servant,

RICHARD CLOUGHE."

By me Thomas Dutton, as witness.

By me Thomas Denne, as witness.

By me Katharine Cloughe.

" O my master, doe unto my poore wife and children as you would I should do to yours, and if you were in the same case, for they have no father to trust unto but you ; and thus I bid you, and my gracious Lady farewell, till it please God to send us a merry meeting.

Your old servant,

RICHARD CLOUGHE."ⁿ

It is pleasing to be able to assert that Gresham

ⁿ From the copy in the Prerogative-Office, Lyon. quire 23.

did not avail himself of the simplicity of his servant. The document just quoted was renounced when the earlier will was proved,—November 9th, 1570.*

But the most important passage in his will is that wherein he testified his love of his native town, by seeking to bestow upon its future inhabitants the blessing of education. He left one hundred pounds towards the founding of a free school at Denbigh,—a large sum, when the circumstances of time and place are considered. “This is true,” says Fuller, “that he gave the impropriation of Killken in Flintshire, worth an hundred pounds per annum, to the free-school in Denbigh; and if the same at this day be aliened, I question whether repentance without restitution will secure such who are causers thereof.”—“Of the free grammar-school at Denbigh,” says Carlisle, in his *Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools in England and Wales*, “the author is not able to give a description, as no answer has been received to his repeated applications.”†

* An indistinct account of this occurrence may have reached Fuller, when, many years afterwards, speaking of Clough, he says that it was asserted by some, “that it was agreed between him and Sir Thomas Gresham, that the survivor should be chief heir to both; on which account they say that the knight carried away the main of the estate.”—Worthies, vol. ii. p. 594.

† Vol. ii. p. 927. —See also Fuller’s Worthies, vol. ii. p. 594: and Pennant’s Tour in Wales, 4to. 1784, vol. ii. p. 27.

It would seem that Sir Richard Clough anticipated for himself (as who does not?) a longer term of years than was allotted to him. About the time of his death, he appears to have contemplated retirement from the cares of active life; and to have looked forward to an old age of patriarchal pleasure among his native mountains. Many were the schemes which, possessed of health and conscious of power, he revolved for the benefit of his country. His riches were so great, that *efe a æth yn Clough*, or *he is become a Clough*, grew into a proverb on the attainment of wealth by any person. As if preparatory to his retirement, in addition to his other houses and estates in North Wales, it has been already mentioned that he commenced, in 1567, erecting in Denbighshire the curious mansion called Bache-graig, which he scarcely lived to see completed: and that this house should continue in the hands of his descendants, and be for ever occupied by one bearing the surname of Clough, appears to have been his dearest wish. By Katharine of Berain he had but two daughters, Anne and Mary; to the elder of whom, (Anne,) he left Bache-graig, on condition that she should marry one of her own name; and in case of her non-compliance, the estate was to descend to her sister: if both the young ladies were perverse enough to love a person of a different surname

from their own, their father desired that his natural son Richard should be constituted by act of parliament his lawful heir; and if this might not be, his own brothers were successively to possess Bachegraig. The huge standing-cup of silver 'whole gilde,' which had been presented to him in 1560 by Count Mansfeld,^a obtained a scarcely less considerable share of his solicitude: it was on no account to depart from Bachegraig, but to remain there as 'a standard' for ever. Such weaknesses are perhaps indications of an amiable disposition. The last-named estate was nevertheless inherited by his eldest daughter, who married Roger Salusbury, Esq.; and in his family it continued until it devolved to Mrs. Thrale, herself a Salusbury, and in her early days very proud of her old family mansion; but after her union with Mr. Piozzi, she lost her Cambrian feeling, and deserted the dwelling of her ancestors; having built a box in the Italian style on an eminence above it, which she called Brynbella. Her Italian successor, who assumed the family name of Salusbury, a few years ago quite dismantled Bachegraig, and converted it into a farm-house: on which, such parts of the edifice as admitted of individual preservation, were religiously transferred to Plâs-Clough.

^a See vol. i. p. 342.

Dr. Johnson visited this curious mansion on the 30th of July, 1774, when Mr. and Mrs. Thrale conducted him into North Wales; and in his private diary, which has only lately come to light, he gives the following account of his visit. Leaving Llewenny Hall, where they were staying, Johnson says,—“We went to Bâch y Graig, where we found an old house, built 1567, in an uncommon and inconvenient form. My mistress,” (meaning Mrs. Thrale, who found the stairs very dirty, and required some persuasion to go up,) “chattered about cleaning, but I prevailed on her to go to the top. The floors have been stolen: the windows are stopped. The house was less than I seemed to expect; the river Clwyd is a brook with a bridge of one arch, about one-third of a mile. The woods have many trees, generally young; but some, which seem to decay. They have been lopped. The house never had a garden. The addition of another story would make an useful house, but it cannot be great. Some buildings which Clough, the founder, intended for warehouses, would make store-chambers, and servants’ rooms. The ground seems to be good. I wish it well.”

In these disjointed sentences, which were evidently penned without a suspicion of the

* *Diary of a Journey into North Wales, &c.* 16mo. 1816, p. 51.

typographical honours which awaited them, who would recognise the well-known author of such a passage as this :—" Boswell wants to see Wales ; but, except the woods of Bâch y Graig, what is there in Wales that can fill the hunger of ignorance, or quench the thirst of curiosity ?"

The house called Plâs-Clough, which is only two miles from Bachegraig, has continued up to the present day in the possession of the founder's lineal male descendants. To him also belonged Mainan Abbey, in Caernarvonshire, of which a representation is given in the vignette to Chapter IV., from an old painting preserved at the abbey,—now the seat of Lord Newborough. It was rented in 1568 by William Spen, Clough's cousin, at 20 marks per annum. He desired in his will, that the lease should be continued on the same terms to its then occupant, with an understanding that the ' fairest rooms ' should ever be at the disposal of his favourite brother William, and his own wife, who was also to have the privilege of gathering from the orchard whatever fruit she might reasonably require. Sir Richard also built a curious house in Denbigh, since converted into an inn ; which, with the abbey, devolved by marriage to the husband of his younger daughter, Wynn of Melai ; from whose arms it derived its sign of the " three boars' heads."

I have been favoured with a literal version of an ancient MS. Welch poem by John Tudor, (one of the four choral vicars of St. Asaph, and celebrated as a poet in North Wales,) "On the death of Master R. Clough, who was the first of the name;" which, as the work of a contemporary hand, adds weight to some of the preceding statements, which would otherwise rest on Fuller's authority alone. His pilgrimage to Jerusalem is there mentioned:

"He stood beside the solemn tomb of Christ!
Under the sun of far Jerusalem."

And the place and date of his death obtain notice:

"At Antwerp for a time
He liv'd renown'd; but ah. in Hambro',
(The North country, alas that he went there!)
How was the object of our love, our head,
Our forest's pride and ornament cut down!

— The God of heaven
Gave, in His wisdom, and remov'd from us,
A virtuous man. The age of Jesus Christ,
What time our chieftain died, was ten times seven,
(An even sum!) one thousand and a half."

The remainder of the poem is devoted to the praise of Sir Richard's wealth and munificence, of which a few lines will be a sufficient specimen:

"To him God gave, and with no sparing hand,
The good gifts of this world. He could command
(As 'twas believ'd) the riches of a realm
By his mere word; which, firm as courteous,
Was deem'd a better bond than a king's seal."

Another curious poem* on the same subject, which has only lately been brought to light, deserves mention in this place. It was discovered among the archives of a Welsh family, in a volume of MS. elegies and laudatory poems; and was the production of Simwnt Fychan, a well-known bard of the Elizabethan age. Clough's knighthood, and the place of his death are again distinctly recorded in this poem, with some other circumstances which will be more appropriately mentioned in a subsequent page. The poet is loud in commendation of his hero, whose affection for his family he particularly celebrates; and Katharine of Berain is not forgotten, when he glances for a moment from the virtues of the dead, to the grief of the living.—But the incidental notice which this interesting character obtains in a letter from Humphrey Lloyd (the celebrated Welsh historian and antiquary) to the great Ortelius, will be his highest praise. We learn that the friendship which subsisted between these two eminent men owed its origin to Richard Clough. That the latter should have enjoyed the intimacy of Lloyd is natural: they were both natives of one town, they had respectively rendered themselves eminent, and they

* I am indebted for both these poems to the kindness of my friend, the Rev. A. B. Clough.

resembled each other in some of their tastes, especially in their love of music ;[†] but that Clough should have enjoyed the friendship of Ortelius, shows, that during his long residence at Antwerp, he found time for higher pursuits than those which immediately pressed upon him. We learn that he ultimately became the medium of communication between Ortelius and Humphrey Lloyd, who notices him with fondness, and styles him "vir integerrimus." The letter from which this information is collected, bears date April 5th, 1568, and may be found at the end of Ortelius' *Theatri Orbis Terrarum*.[‡]

Sir Richard Clough was interred at Hamburg; but my learned friend Dr. Lappenberg, keeper of the archives of that city, informs me that neither in the churches, nor among the records in his custody, has he been successful in finding any evidence of the event. At Clough's particular request, his heart, and some add his right hand,

[†] They were also destined to die in the same year, (1570,) and they were interred (in part) in the same church. Lloyd's vault is adjoining to that of the Clough family.

[‡] The passage was pointed out to me by the Rev. Joseph Hunter; whose willingness to assist a literary inquirer can only be equalled by his ability to impart curious information. In mentioning the name of that gentleman, I may be permitted to hope that at no distant period the public will be put in possession of his Shakspearian criticisms—which certainly far surpass in interest and importance any which have yet appeared.

were brought to England in a silver urn, and deposited in the church of Whitchurch, which is the parish-church of Denbigh, and about a mile distant from that town. The circumstance has been recorded in song by Simwnt Fychan, the author of the last-mentioned poem :

“’Twas his last pray’r, that back to his sweet friends
His fond heart might return. All piously
’Twas laid, where sleep his kindred, in the vault
At Whitchurch. May the spirit which once stirr’d
The pulse of that hush’d heart, find rest in heav’n !”

Nor does this incident rest on poetic authority or tradition alone ; for on opening the family vault a few weeks ago, to admit a final inmate, portions of the leaden urn which formed the outer covering of Sir Richard Clough’s heart were found in a square recess on one side of the vault, and the lid of the urn remained entire. An aged tenant remembered the leaden vessel in a perfect state, and deposed to its having been shaped like a heart. It is presumed that the silver casket itself, which contained the frail relic, must in times past have been removed by some one who coveted the precious material.

In addition to the two elegiac poems from which some disconnected extracts have already been made, the following curious poetic tribute to the memory of Sir Richard Clough may not be unacceptable. The original exists in MS. in the

library of Christ Church, Oxford, and is stated to have been the production of an old Welsh bard, named William Cynwal. It is here literally translated, which must be a sufficient apology for the utter blankness of the blank verse; and the poem itself, though nearly destitute of poetic merit, may find some favour on account of its genuineness,—its antiquity,—its reference to the remarkable individual of whom we have had so much to relate,—and, not least, on account of its connexion with an interesting people, with whose name some of our brightest poetical and musical recollections are inseparably associated. For an obvious reason, the biographical information which is to be derived from this source has been already availed of.

AN ELEGY ON SIR RICHARD CLOUGH,

KNIGHT OF THE SEPULCHRE.

“The sky is dark and low’ring. The great globe
To us becomes one general world of ice.
Saint Mary knows—how, by *his* death who was
The kingdom’s arm and strength,—Saint Mary knows
How wholly we’re undone!

Great was the grief

And all-pervading, when ’twas known that death,
Cutting Sir Richard off in mid career,
Had bound him pris’ner in a cell of clay.
Greatly did Denbigh feel his loss: throughout
Was nothing heard but one heart-rending sigh.
Now, in the noble mansion of Berain,
The nights are wearisome; and life itself
Becomes a burthen. Chilling sadness dwells

(As but too many know) in Bachegraig,
The Cologne-walled !—I do not know the nook
That is exempted from our gen'ral grief.

Oh, then, what sorrow must abide with her,
Tudor's fair daughter !—what must be *her* pangs,
Whose time is all consumed in tears and sighs
For her so cherished lord ! God's will be done:
'Tis man's whole duty humbly to submit.
And if we think Sir Richard has been snatch'd
From mortal men too soon, it should afford
Some comfort to remember that he left
Behind him two fair daughters,—Anne and Mary,—
Heirs to his wealth ; with whom we may expect
The honour'd race of Clough will not expire.

Sir Richard passed his days in doing good
To all his fellow-men : his lib'ral spirit
Was unexhausted,—inexhaustible.
When the news came that he was dead and gone,
The blow fell heavy on his brothers, and
His sisters. This was in the year fifteen
Hundred and seventy.

William Clough, of the sharp
And shining spear, is of Sir Richard's brothers
Bravest ; and fittest to succeed his brother :
A captain bold, erewhile, beneath the king.
Sir Richard's other brothers' names are Thomas,
Humphrey, Hugh, Thomas, Robert ; and his sisters
Alice and Anne, dispensers of the wine,
And Ellen * (Lunéd of our language),—making
Exactly nine.

A princely fortune had
Sir Richard Clough ; a gen'rous landlord he !

* The name of Ellen is omitted in Clough's will ; and *Anne* is there called *Agnes*. Concerning Hugh, vide *suprà* pp. 249 and 305. Robert was one of the handicraftsmen recommended in the official letter spoken of at p. 329, and is mentioned by Richard as his 'servant.'—See the Harl. MS. No. 1971, f. 95.

Who never turned a tenant from his farm :
And, ever ready to assist the needy,
Whose purse was ever open. Unto Rome
He travell'd; visiting Jerusalem,
And Christ's blest Sepulchre.—His body lies
At Hambro' ; but his heart (you may believe)
At Denbigh rests. His soul has fled to heav'n
To mingle with kings' souls ; and, of a truth,
Sir Richard was our king while here below.”*

Notwithstanding the rapidity with which Katharine of Berain supplied the place of her husbands as she lost them, it would seem that she proved an affectionate wife to Sir Richard Clough. “And for that I have found my wife so good, honest, and friendly unto me during my life,” (such are his own words,) “I will and desire all my friends to love and honour her after my death; for she is no less worthy, and is such a one as is ill to be found, both of honesty and lovingness, and worthy to marry any king.” It will be regarded, however, as a somewhat suspicious circumstance, that towards the close of his last illness he was induced, at the instance of this lady, to execute a codicil to his will; by which, “in consideration of the exceeding great pains” she had taken with him, he bequeathed to her, unconditionally, the estate of Berain which she had brought him at the time of their marriage. Probably, when she suggested this little arrange-

* Kindly communicated by the Rev. A. B. Clough. From a Welsh MS. in Christ-Church library, F. 11.

ment to her declining spouse, Morris Wynn, of Gwydyr, Esquire, occurred to her recollection. Certain it is, that this distribution of property was completely at variance with the provisions of her husband's will, drawn up in the preceding year ; for he had there directed that his widow should continue unmarried for the space of seven years, and to ensure the fulfilment of his wishes, he had left her only a conditional maintenance. It is also equally certain that, on her return to Wales, Katharine of Berain gave her hand to young Morris Wynn ; who had patiently waited till she was able to fulfil the promise she had made him in 1567, at Sir John Salusbury's funeral.

The reader may not be displeased to peruse the following rude poem, literally translated from the Welsh ; and here (like the preceding elegy) broken into lines, only in order that it may have the air of poetry,—to the eye at least, if not to the understanding. The original is preserved in the same volume which contains the poem last quoted ; and was the work of the same hand. It is,

A POEM ADDRESSED TO KATHARINE OF BERAİN,

TO WELCOME HER HOME WHEN SHE WAS BEYOND THE SEA ;

AS WILL BE SEEN FROM THE CONTEXT.

“ Kath'rine, dispenser of the ruddy wine,
Thrice welcome back unto thy native land !
She, lovely lady of the open brow,
Bears throughout Wales the palm for wit and sense.

Tudor ap Robert was her father, (he,
Of the long halberd,) who derived his line
From brave Rolând of Brittany! Her fame
And wealth are greater than the wealth and fame
Which were her father's and her mother's: tho'
From him she hath inherited Berain;
And from her mother, daughter of Rolând,
Beaumaris form'd a portion of her dower.

She sail'd away, as Ellen did of yore,
Daughter of Coel Godebog; who return'd
When she had traversed sea and land. Ev'n thus
Thou with thy husband wentest first to London,
From thence to Calais, and by way of France
(Fam'd for its wine!) thou didst proceed to Flanders.
To Antwerp next, and then to Spain thou wentest,
Honour'd by all. But, (cursed be the place!)
Hambro' in Denmark was the place where fell
Misfortune on thee!

There thy husband died.
Yet went his spirit to that better land,
Where Jesus reigns, whose summons he obey'd:
But you, a lovely widow, came to England,
Lovely and spotless;—whose fair fame was soon
Blazon'd thro' England's isle. At Berain next,
O beautifully fair! thou didst arrive.

Loud was the wail at Llanfydd for Sir Richard,
And many a heart beat anxiously for thee.
Till you return'd, eternal winter reign'd;
But now has summer visited our skies,
And where before the woodcock pip'd, the cuckoo
Breathes his soft note. All nature seems to smile.
It is but right that all the bells in Wales
Should ring out 'welcome' on thy safe return!

We pray thee, lady of the golden frontlet,
Thou beautifully fair, bedeck'd with gold,—
We pray thee never more to quit Berain!"*

* See the preceding note.

Notwithstanding the prominent part which the figure termed *hyperbole* occupies in these poetic tributes to the memory of Clough and his wife, it will be felt that they must indeed have been distinguished persons, to have elicited even such testimony as the preceding from the bards of their country: while it would be unreasonable to conclude that we are aware of the extent to which compliments of this class were paid them, from the few specimens which we have been able to produce. To these more might be added, did it seem desirable to accumulate examples. It shall only be further observed, that in the same prolific storehouse—the volume of Welsh poetry from which our last two extracts have been made,—there occurs “A poem upon sending the ship to bring back Mr. Clough and Mrs. Katharine from Denmark:” of which an analysis is all that need be given. The first thirty-four lines are addressed to the ship; which is styled a wooden apartment,—a chamber,—a goose sporting on the waves,—a flying serpent, &c. &c. The poet next urges the vessel to proceed directly to Denmark, and bring back Sir Richard and his wife,—both of whom he greatly extols for their kind-heartedness and generosity: after which he alludes to their great wealth. Having mentioned what a valuable treasure the vessel had to carry, he prays that

God's protection may attend it on its way, and conduct it safe back to Gwynedd,—that is *Wales*.⁷

On one of the first pages of the MS. which contains these poems, are sketched Clough's armorial bearings; accompanied by the following curious description, which is literally translated from the Welsh. It will be rendered more intelligible by the reader's referring to a note at the foot of page 310.

“ The coat of Master Richard Clough [Maeistr Rissart Clwch] kt of the Sepulchre of Christ, and Mrs. Katharine [Meistres Katrin] his wife, heiress of Tudur ap Robert.

“ The coat is per pale, to show the worthy marriage between Mr. Richard Clough and Mrs. Katharine.—The dog's head represents his faithfulness in his services to the princess.—The crosses, his piety when at Jerusalem.—The lion and swords, his boldness and courage of heart.

“ Mrs. Katharine was descended from Marchweithian; and maternally from Sir Roland Villville of Britany.”

Many portraits of Katharine of Berain are preserved among her numerous descendants in Wales; one of which is described as an excellent

⁷ Outline of a poem written by William Cynwal, entitled *Kowyd i yrru y long i nol Mr. Rissart Klwch a Meistres Katrin adrof Dengmerk*.

three-quarters, on wood. It bears the date of 1568, and must therefore have been painted at Antwerp; probably on the occasion of this lady's marriage with Sir Richard Clough. Pennant was told, that in the locket attached to her gold necklace, she wore the hair of her second and favourite husband.² But an intelligent living writer, who has had access to many authentic sources of information, states that Clough's body was burnt; and that in the little gold box which she wore suspended to a chain until the day of her death, his wife preserved some of his ashes.³ On so important a point, we presume not to offer an opinion: having only further to add on this subject, that a portrait of the Lady of Berain used to hang in the great hall at Bachegraig; behind which Mrs. Piozzi, who was lineally descended from her, had inscribed a memorandum, showing her descent, and adding a few other genealogical particulars of questionable accuracy. There is also a very tolerable engraving of this lady in Yorke's *Royal Tribes of Wales*, whence the portrait which forms the initial letter of the present chapter is taken. The original is stated to have been preserved at Lluesog Lodge.

Mr. Edward Thelwall, of Plâs-y-ward in Denbighshire, to whom she was last united, and who

² Tour in Wales, vol. ii. p. 30. ³ Lloyd's History of Anglesea.

survived her, was a remarkable character ; whose wise and manly bearing, Lord Herbert of Cherbury has recorded in an interesting passage of his auto-biography. We would willingly infer from the worth of the husband, the merit of the wife ; and indeed it is scarcely possible that such a man as Thelwall must have been, would have united himself to a woman, so much his superior in years, and now for the third time left a widow, unless she was possessed of some extraordinary gifts both of mind and body.—We have nothing further to record of her, except that she died on the 27th of August, 1591, and on the 1st of September was interred at Llanyfydd, in Denbighshire ; where, strange to say, she reposes without a monument,—notwithstanding her wealthy connexions and numerous descendants, from which she obtained the title of *Mam-Cymru*, the Mother of Wales.

From the preceding notices of Sir Richard Clough, the reader is sufficiently able to form an estimate of his character, to render any remarks of mine on the subject almost superfluous. It is not exaggeration to say, that he was in many respects in advance of the age in which he lived. This is apparent from the numerous passages in his correspondence, where he offers suggestions clearly advantageous to the state, and which posterity has since adopted. Fragments are also extant of a

private correspondence which he maintained with Sir William Cecil ; but these letters of Clough are uniformly so dark and mysterious, that it is impossible even to guess at the subject of them. His sagacity and prudence in the discharge of his duties, no less than the energy of his character, are conspicuous in every page of his correspondence : while the quaint, humorous style into which he is for ever relapsing, seems to show that he must have been an amusing companion. He was as observing as one of the old chroniclers, and as fond of committing his observations to paper. He appears, moreover, to have been of a singularly liberal and affectionate disposition. Amid all his successes, his heart evidently yearned with fondness towards his native mountains, and the kindred who dwelt among them and bore his name : while he is proved to have been as much of an enthusiast in religion, as he was in every thing else, by his youthful wanderings

——“ in those holy fields,
Over whose acres walk'd those blessed feet,
Which, eighteen hundred years ago, were nail'd,
For our advantage, on the bitter cross.”

At Plâs-Clough is preserved an original portrait of its founder, apparently the work of a Flemish artist ; of which an indifferent engraving

may be seen in Pennant's London, and a slight representation in the initial letter to the fifth chapter. It is a half-length, extremely well painted on board; in the corner of which is introduced the badge of the holy order to which Sir Richard Clough belonged. He is there represented in a close short jacket, black striped with white, and great white breeches. He wears a sword and dagger, and in his right hand holds a glove. His beard is yellow, and his hair, which he wore very short, is of a dark brown. The descendants of this remarkable man showed no more respect to his memory than they did to that of his wife, since no monument was erected in honour of either; but this is a reproach which I believe will not attach to his existing representatives, who contemplate raising some memorial to their ancestor in the church where, had he died in England, he would unquestionably have been interred.

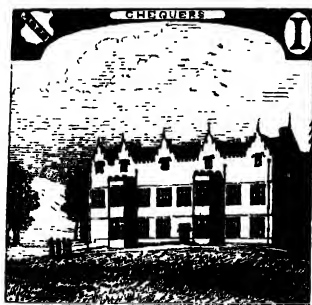


ST. HELEN'S CHURCH: TOMBS OF GRESHAM, PICKERING, AND JUDD.

CHAPTER VII.

[1570 to 1579.]

LADY MARY GREY AND THE SERJEANT PORTER—LADY MARY AT CHEQUERS—AT OSTERLEY—FINANCE—MAYFIELD—FLEMISH AFFAIRS—GRESHAM COLLEGE—THE QUEEN AT OSTERLEY—PRINCE CASIMIR—ST. HELEN'S—GRESHAM'S LATTER YEARS—HIS DEATH AND CHARACTER—LADY GRESHAM—CONCLUSION.



IN the last chapter, it was attempted to set Queen Elizabeth and her favourite minister in high relief, by adverting to the dark machinations of the enemies of Protestantism which prevailed during the first half of her reign; and from the consequences of which, this empire was mercifully

delivered. As for the measures whereby the integrity of church and state was secured, it would be foreign to the purpose of these pages to discuss them : moreover the question is a delicate one, and one which has divided, and will for ever divide opinion. Even the most candid and right-minded historians will differ in their estimate of Queen Elizabeth's conduct, as they are struck with the magnitude of the danger which menaced her crown, on the one hand ; or their humanity is interested in the sufferings of those who became her victims, on the other. It might perhaps be safely assumed, that if the beautiful Queen of Scots had never existed, this question would not have been canvassed with warmth ; but would have quietly subsided into a matter for dry historical disquisition. Suffice it then to remark, that however commendable the object which Elizabeth had in view, the means she employed to rid the country of the enemies which were thought to endanger its safety are unjustifiable. Nor does it in the least diminish her guilt in shedding Mary's blood, that the latter had debased herself by a thousand follies, and was stained with the imputation of a yet more revolting crime.

But there were other female sufferers besides the Scottish queen ; concerning whom historians have written less, not because they are less

entitled to pity, but because they played a less conspicuous part in the active drama of the period. The house of Grey is no less deserving of our compassion than the house of Stewart; and the unoffending daughters of that noble house command in addition our respect and reverence, which are precisely the sentiments we must withhold from the Queen of Scots. In the writer's opinion, there is something far more touching in the simple narrative of their sufferings, than in the ostentatious history of Queen Mary's misfortunes and death. The melancholy fate of the amiable and accomplished Lady Jane Grey, eldest daughter of Henry, Duke of Suffolk, by the granddaughter of Henry VII., is too well known to require further notice: nor will the student in English history require to be reminded, that her sister Catharine was almost as unhappy in her end. She was considered by many to be the rightful heir to the crown of England; and her sister's short and involuntary reign, had rendered her whole family objects of jealousy and suspicion to Queen Elizabeth. As a penalty for the crime of contracting a marriage with the Earl of Hertford, without previously obtaining the queen's consent, she had been committed to the Tower; where, notwithstanding the intercessions of her family and friends, she passed the remainder of her

days, and where finally she died in 1567. One of the Harleian MSS. contains a most affecting paper, entitled "The manner of her departing ;"^a which it is impossible to peruse without sorrow and indignation.

There was yet another daughter of this devoted house,—Lady Mary Grey, the third and youngest sister ; concerning whom least of all has been written. So little indeed is known about her, that no apology can be necessary for entering into her misfortunes at some length : particularly as it will be seen that her history is intimately connected with that of Sir Thomas Gresham.

She was one of Queen Elizabeth's maids of honour, and is described by Cecil as the most diminutive lady at court ; while Sandford goes so far as to say that she was slightly deformed.^b One would suppose that with these natural disadvantages, and the fate of her two elder sisters before her eyes, Lady Mary would have taken warning, nor ever thought of matrimony for herself. In her youth, however, she had been betrothed to Arthur, Lord Grey of Wilton ;^c and the match having been broken off, forgetful of her birth and station, she unhappily fixed her

^a Harl. MS. No. 39, fol. 380. See Ellis's *Letters*, 2nd Series, vol. ii. p. 288.

^b *Geneal. Hist.* p. 540.

^c Doleman [Parsons.] *A Conference about the next Succession*, &c. 1594, 8vo. quoted in the *Cens. Lit.* vol. iv. p. 107.

affections on Mr. Thomas Keys,^d whom some writers style “Gentleman-porter of the Queen’s household, and master of the revels at court;” but he is more generally called “Serjeant-porter.”—“Here is a unhappy chance and monstuous,” wrote Sir William Cecil to Sir Thomas Smith from Windsor, on the 21st of August, 1565. “The Serjeant-porter, being the biggest gentillman in this court, hath marryed secretly the Lady Mary Grey, the lest of all the court. They are committed to severall prisons,” adds the writer. “The offence is very great.”^e Lord William Howard had written to Cecil the day before, somewhat in the same strain, in reply to a letter from Cecil of the 19th of August, concerning “a very fonde and lewde matter fallen owte betwixt my Lady Mary and the Serjeant-porter.”^f One would really suppose, from Lord Howard’s letter, that he considered the royal prerogative endangered by this marriage,—such astonishment does he express at the boldness of the parties concerned.

^d I know not why every writer has called him *Martin*. The inaccuracy seems to have originated with Camden. See his *Annales*, &c. 1625, 8vo. p. 80: where the marriage also is incorrectly assigned to an earlier period than 1565.

^e Lansd. MS. No. 102, art. 62.—Printed by Ellis and Wright.

^f He says that it occurred on the day that his cousin Knolles was married. Rigate, Aug. 20, 1565.—Dom. Corr. St. P. Off.

Among the State-Papers of the period, is preserved a document relating to this event, partly in the hand of Sir William Cecil ; entitled “ Articles for examination of the Lady Mary Grey :” annexed to which are her own and her husband’s answers to the several vexatious interrogatories with which, long before their honey-moon had expired, the unfortunate couple were molested. It bears date August the 19th, 1565 ; and in reply to such inquiries as, “ 1. What day were you married ? 2. About what hour ? 3. In what place ? 4. How many were present ? 5. What were their names ?” &c., we are informed that the event took place “ on the day that Mr. Knolles was married,—at about nine at night,—in the Serjeant-porter’s chamber, by the water-gate at Westminster : that the serjeant’s brother, Mr. Edward Keyes ; Mr. Cheyny’s man ; and Martin Cawsley, dwelling at Cambridge, were present : besides Mrs. Goldwell, (a servant of the Lady Howard,) and the priest, apparelled in a short gown ; being old, fatt, and of low stature. The priest had a book of Common Prayer, and read the prayers of Matrimony ; and the Serjeant gave the lady a little wedding ring.” Among other impertinent questions, she was asked,—“ With whom did you speake of this marriage before the same, and since ; also, what tokens or

gifts have you received of the Serjeant, and what gifts have you given." To which she replied that "she never spake with none before; and that the Serjeant had given her, first, two little rings; next, a ring with four rubies and a diamond; and a chain, and a little hanging-bottle of the mother-of-pearl. Her property and expectations consisted of 80*l.* yearly, paid out of the Exchequer, by the hands of my Lady Clinton; and 20*l.* a-year by the hands of one Astell. Upon the death of Mr. Stokes, she and her sister were entitled to 500 marks, saving 40*l.* by year; and upon the death of the Duchess of Suffolk, one thousand marks value of land would descend to the two sisters; the Lady Strange, and the Lady Montegle."^s

Until the date of Mr. Knollys' marriage is ascertained, it is impossible to state the precise day on which the *mésalliance* between Lady Mary and the serjeant-porter was contracted: but the event took place, doubtless, a few days before the 19th of August, 1565. How closely in this instance punishment followed on the heels of error, has been already shown; for Cecil says that only two days after the unhappy couple had undergone examination, they were "committed to several [separate] prisons." Our other evi-

^s Dom. Corr. St. P. Off. The result of the separate examinations are slightly transposed in the text, and given connectedly.

dence on this subject is derived from the minutes of the Privy-council, wherein it is stated that, on the 22nd of August, "a lettre [was sent] to the Warden of the Flete [prison] to receve into his custodye and kepe in safe and severall warde, without having conference with any,—Thomas Keyes, late Serjeant-porter ; for an offence which the Queen's Majestie *taketh moche to harte* against him ;" the words in italics being underlined in the original.—His lady's early fate is more obscure : what the scene of her imprisonment may have been for the first week or two after her marriage, no one has informed us ; but at the end of that time, it was determined by the Privy-council that she should be sent into the country, and given in charge to Mr. William Hawtreys.

This gentleman, who represented an old and respectable family which had become enriched by several prudent alliances, resided at Chequers in Buckinghamshire,—an estate which his remote ancestor William de Altaripa, *Hauterive*, or Hawtreys, had acquired by intermarriage with one of the daughters and co-heiresses of Sir Ralph de Chequers of Chequers. The Hawtreys seem to have first acquired distinction in the person of William Hawtreys ; who had been frequently employed on state affairs in Queen Mary's reign, as the minutes of her Privy-council show : and it was probably not unknown to

their lordships that, having lost his first wife in 1555, and recently obtained a considerable accession of fortune by a second marriage, he had availed himself of the circumstance to rebuild on a very extensive scale his family seat. We are apprized of this circumstance by a piece of sculpture on the north front of Chequers, (of which a view is given in the initial letter of the present chapter,) representing the crest of the Hawtreys, accompanied by the initials W. H.—A. H., and the date 1565: the two last initials, which are separated by a tree, (doubtless a *haw-tree*, in allusion to the founder's name,) being those of his second wife,—Agnes, daughter of William Walpole, Esq. and widow of a gentleman named Hugh Losse.

In accordance with this resolution of the Privy-council, “a lettre [was sent] to William Hawtrey, Esquier, [on the 29th of August, 1565,] signifying unto him that the Quene's Majestie's pleaser is, that he do furthwith repaire to the Courte, and take into his charge and custody the Ladye Mary Greye,—to remaine at his house without conference with any; suffering only one waiting wooman to attende upon her; without [liberty of] going abroad. For whose charges, the Queene's Majestie will see him in reason satysfied.” On the same day that this order was issued, measures were taken for the apprehension of the minister

who had officiated at the marriage ceremony ; or, as their lordships were pleased to phrase it, “the pretended marriage:” and we may easily suppose that, after such a summons, many days did not elapse ere the dejected bride might have been seen journeying in the direction of Chequers, sitting on a pillion, with Mr. Hawtrey behind her. She was given in charge to him on the 1st of September ; with a letter somewhat milder in its tenour, than the minute in the Privy-council book would lead one to expect. A groom as well as a gentlewoman was allowed her ; and the clause respecting ‘ going abroad ’ was a little modified. Still, it is obvious that her treatment was meant to be very severe.

A sweeter spot, or one better calculated to make a prisoner in love with captivity, could not have been selected than Chequers. That beautiful mansion stands in a shady valley, sheltered by the Chiltern hills ; and combines all the advantages of an elevated position, with the actual privacy and seclusion of its site. But with a keeper who was inclined to adhere to the letter of his instructions, such a retreat must have lost more than half its charms. Lady Mary was perhaps never suffered to visit the romantic haunts in her immediate vicinity, known by the poetic names of Velvet Lawn, Happy Valley, and Silver Spring,—of which it shall only be said that

they are every way deserving of their respective appellations. It may be, that she was not even permitted the melancholy pleasure of losing her self in the labyrinth on the adjoining hill ; or the very innocent satisfaction of sitting under King Stephen's tree,—a patriarchal elm in the garden at Chequers,—and which, (like the venerable yews there) was, beyond a doubt, the witness of her captivity. Her remembrance is probably rather to be connected with the interior of the building ; where, notwithstanding the change which has come over the Chequers of former days, many of the apartments must be considered to remain unaltered in their material features ; and in the bay-windows of the library, which extends nearly the whole length of the building, Lady Mary must often have sat, intent on the books she loved best ; the Geneva Bible,—‘ the booke of Martyrs in two volumes,’—and ‘ the second course of the hunter at the Romishe fox : ’ or she may have indited in her large Italian hand those penitential epistles to Sir William Cecil, of which so many specimens remain ; imploring him to exert his influence with the queen, that she might be forgiven and restored to favour, and representing the wofulness of her condition. The earliest of her letters extant, was written in the sixth week of her captivity ; and on the 16th December she wrote again :—“ I did trust to have

wholly obtayned her Majestie's favour before this time ; the whiche, having once obteyned, I trust never to have lost agayne. But now I perceve that I am so unhappy a creture, as I must yet be without that great and long desiered juell ; till it please God to put in her Majestie's harte to forgive and pardon me my greate and haynusse cryme." ^h In such dejected terms, she invariably lamented her fate : at one time calling herself "most pour wreche," and at another, imploring permission to be allowed to see the queen when she visited the Lord Windsor, at Bradenham, on her return from the University of Oxford. In a letter written in the beginning of 1567, Lady Mary says, "Good Master Secretary, I have received your message you sente me by Master Hawtry, wherein I do perceve you are in dout whether I do contenew in my folly still or no ;

^h Dom. Corr. St. P. Off.—At the present day, as might be expected, the traces of the Hawtreys at Chequers are very few. As far as the writer is aware, they consist of—1. A remarkable picture of Sir William Hawtreys (son of Lady Mary's keeper) and his wife, Winifred Dormer ;—on the handle of whose fan, by the way, a coat of arms is represented, which is certainly not that of the Dormers.—2. The arms of Hawtreys, (*argent, four lions passant sable, between two cottises of the last,*) together with the several quarterings of the same family, painted on glass.—3. The piece of sculpture over one of the bay-windows on the north side of the house, already noticed ; and a corresponding representation in bas-relief of the following arms : *as. an eagle with two heads displayed, ar., charged with a smaller*

which, I assuer you, I do as muche repent as ever dyd any; not only for that I have therby geven occasyon to my enemyes to rejoyce at my fond parte, but also for that I have therby incurred the Quene's Majestie's displessur, whiche is the greatestt greff to me."¹

All this time, poor Keys was lying in the Fleet,—a “noisome prison,” as the Earl of Surrey declared in 1542, “whose pestilent airs are not unlike to bring some alteration of health.” To crown his troubles, he seems to have had a law-suit on his hands, at the period of his marriage; for the warden of the Fleet was ordered by the Privy-council “to suffer Thomas Keyes,

escutcheon, gules, a sun, or, both of which are flanked on either side by a chequered shield,—doubtless that of the first owner of the territory.—4. A small blazoned roll of arms, executed apparently for Mr. William Hawtrey; in which his ancient coat is given (az. five fusils in fess ar.,) with the coats of the several families into which his ancestors had married. Lastly, there is preserved at Chequers a pedigree, executed in 1632, showing that the name of Hawtrey expired in the direct line with the grandchildren (three co-heiresses) of the William spoken of in the text: the second of whom, Bridget, carried the estate of Chequers into the Croke family; from which it passed by descent through the Thurbanes, Rivetts, Russells, and Russell Greenhills, into the possession of the present owner,—Sir Robert Frankland Russell, Bart.; whose extreme kindness and courtesy in promoting the object of the writer, demand his sincere acknowledgments and warmest thanks.

¹ Lansd. MS. No. viii. art. 68. See Plate v.

(late Serjeant-porter, and now close prysoner there,) to receve a caskett of writings sent him by Mr. Comptroller's servaunt towching such matters as he hath dependinge in the Lawe. And further, to permytt any such as shall come to him abowt his said cawses in the Lawe, to have accesse unto him, and speake with him; so the same be in the presence and hearinge of the said warden." ^j In former years, the serjeant had been repeatedly entrusted by their lordships with the charge of redressing disorders within his native county of Kent: but they had now wholly withdrawn their confidence from him; barbarously turning a deaf ear to his repeated and pressing entreaties to be released from prison, and to be suffered to reside in the country, on parole. He represented the ill effects which close confinement had on his health, and the advantage which he should derive from 'liberty to exercise his body; whereby he might also avoid the great and importunate charges he was subject to in the Fleet.' He stated that he had served at court for two-and-twenty years,—that is to say, ever since the reign of Henry VIII.; and very reasonably urged this as a plea why he should be released, and some employment found for him, of which he said he had long been in expectation.

^j 7th October, 1565.—MS. in the Council-Office, fol. 245.

This was in a letter which bears date July 25th, 1566—"from this myserable [place] the Fleete."^k

There is extant a letter from Grindal, bishop of London, to Sir William Cecil, on the subject of this marriage; a portion of which will not be out of place here. "Whattsoever renunciation he make," meaning Keys, "it is not avaleable in lawe. If the contracte be to be dissolved, be it true or pretendett, it must be doone judicially, by examination of bothe parts and theyr wittnesses; which beinge fownde insufficient, it maye be judicially by sentence pronounced to be no contracte: and contrariwise, if the proofes falle owte for the matrimonie, it must be pronownced. Therefore, yf my Lords and you wille have me to take suche renunciation as he offreth, I shalle take it apou your pleasure knowen: lett it be of vawle, as it maye. Otherwise I thowghte it my dewtie to certiffie, as I fynde the case. I have stille stayed him in the Fleete; butt if it pleased my Lords to lett him have some free ayer, and that the nexte tearme some substancialle order mighte be taken with him by the advice of the learned in lawes, it wer a greate benefitte to him; for *his bodye beyng*e *suche*, as *ye knowe it to be*, *his continuance in the Fleete wille putte him to*

^k Dom. Corr. St. P. Off.—The coat of arms on the seal represents Keys, quartering.

greate adventure. Godde kepe you.—From Fulham, 5° Augusti, 1566.

Yours in Christe,

EDM: LONDON.

“I was sorrie I had no frute to sende you. Myne orcharde browghte me furthe nothingse this yeare, grapes only excepted; and they wille nott be rype this monthe, or neare thereabouts.”¹

On the 21st of December, Keys again addressed Cecil on the subject of his confinement. A new warden had been appointed to the Fleet, who, it seems, was guilty of many acts of petty tyranny over his prisoners. He forbade the Serjeant-porter the use of the Fleet garden, and ordered him for three quarters of a year to keep his chamber. The queen had allowed him to eat meat there; but the warden gave orders that he should have no more dressed within the house. “Also,” observes the giant, “I had (for the refreshing of myself sometimes,) a stone bowe to shoote at birds oute of my window;” but even this slight solace had been denied him. “If,” he remarks, “it were her Majestie’s pleasure and your honour’s, for my offences comitted against her highness, to fetter me with iron gyves,—I could most willingly endure it. But to bear this

¹ Dom. Corr. St. P. Off.

warden's imprisonment without cause, is no small grefe to my harte."^m

One is shocked, at the end of two years, to find him still in prison. He addressed a long argumentative letter, full of penitence and piety, on the 7th of July, 1567, to Leicester and Cecil; wherein he reveals the painful circumstance that his children were the companions of his captivity: "my poor children suffer punishment with me for this my offence."ⁿ What an alliance, by the way, for the great-grand-daughter of a king,—a giant who had been for twenty-two years Serjeant-porter at court; and who was at the same time a widower, with a family of children!

We return to Lady Mary Grey; who, according to Cecil's diary, was "exchanged from Mr. Hawtreys to the Duchess of Somerset's chardge,"^o about the latter end of July, or during the first week in August, 1567,—having been for the space of two years an inmate of Chequers. It may seem rash to call in question the contemporary statement of so good an authority as Sir William Cecil; but the following letter, which the *Duchess of Suffolk* addressed to him from

^m Ibid.—Among other indignities which were put upon him by his inhuman keeper, he mentions that some beef was given him which had fallen into poison prepared for a dog that had the mange. He was obliged to send for Dr. Langton, (a celebrated physician of the time,) whose attendance cost him 6*s.* 8*d.*

ⁿ Dom. Corr. St. P. Off. ^o Murdin's State Papers, p. 764.

Greenwich, on the 9th of August, is almost enough to prove that he wrote "Somerset" inadvertently.^p It is clear, at all events, that Mr. Hawtrey was instructed to resign his fair charge to the care of her maternal step-grandmother,—the dowager Duchess of Suffolk;^q and the letter which communicates that piece of intelligence is far too curious to be withheld, or even to suffer abridgment.

" Good Mr. Sekrettory.

"According to the Quene's comandment, on Fryday at night laste, Mr. Haultry browght my Lady Mary to the Minories^r to me, even as I was apointed to have gone to Grenwyche ; and so,

^p Anne, Duchess of Somerset, was, it is true, closely related to Lady Mary Grey; the Earl of Hertford, her son, having married Lady Catharine Grey, sister to Lady Mary: but this fact is insufficient to maintain Cecil's memorandum against the circumstantial evidence of the Duchess of Suffolk's letter.

^q Catharine, Baroness Willoughby de Eresby, had been married, first, to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, whose fourth wife she became; (her predecessor being Mary, Queen of France, sister of Henry VIII., and mother of Frances, who married Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset and Duke of Suffolk,—by which marriage came the Lady Mary Grey, and her ill-fated sisters.) She became, secondly, the wife of Richard Bertie, Esq. by whom she had a son and heir, Peregrine, tenth Lord Willoughby de Eresby. She died in 1580. See more concerning her in Tytler's admirable work on the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary.

^r Some readers may require to be informed, that a low part of London, near the Tower, is so called. I believe that Sir Richard Morysine resided there.

I was fayne to stey there with her that nyght. And yesterday, she came hither with me, (for sooner, iff I wold, I colde not bring her,) wyche makethe me with the more spede to advertise you of her cuming. The trothe is, I am so unprovided of stoffe here myselfe, as, at the Minories I borowe of my Lady Elenore ; and here, of mystress Sheffield : for all the stoffe that I had left me when I came from the other syde of the sea, and all that I have sins scraped for, and gotten together, woll not suffessently fornyshe our howses in Lynconshire : and because I laye not at Londone, I left nothing here. Meaning nowe to buy some new, if our purses wold serve us ; wyche, by reason of my troble with my son's sekenys, and other chanches of my mayd's dethe,—the one dryving me from London, the other making me to have joye or care for nothing,—hath mayde me the mor unprovdyed. But the special cause, (to say truly,) is for lack of monny. I woll not halte with you ; wherefore I was fayne to declare the same lack of stoffe to Mr. Hautry, praying him that my Lady's stoffe myght come before, for the dressing up of her chamber : but, wolde [to] God you had seen wat stoffe it is !—He before tolde me that she occupied his, and none of her owne ; and nowe I see it, I believe him well, and am sorry that I am not so well stored for her as he was ; but am

compelde to borrowe it of my frends in the Tower. She hathe nothing but an olde lyverie feather bed, all to torne and full of patches; without either bolster or counterpoint, but ij old pillows,—one longer than the other: an old quilt of silk, so torne as the cotten of it comes out; such a littel piteous canopy of red sarsnett, as was skant good enough to hang over some secret stool; and ij lyttel pieces of old, old hangings,—both of them not seven yards broad. Wherfor, I pray you hartely, consider of this; and iff you shal thinke it meete, be a meane for her to the Queene's Majestie, that she myght have the fornetur of one chamber for herselfe and her mayde: and she and I wole play the good huswyffes, and make shyft with her olde bed for her man. Also, I wolde, (if I durst,) beg further, some olde silver potts to fetche her drinke in; and ij lyttel coupes to drinke in,—one for beere, another for wyne. A basen and an ewer I fere were too muche; but all these things she lacks, and [it] were meet she had; and hathe nothing in the worlde. And truly, if I were able to give it her, she shuld never trouble her Majestie for it; but looke what it shall please her Majestie to apoint for her, shall be always redy to be delyvered agayne, in as good case as by her wearing of it it shall be left; when soever it shal plesse her Majestie to call for it.

“ I trust she wol do wel hereafter ; for, notwithstanding that I am sure she is very glad to be with me ; yet, I assure you, she is otherwise, nott only in countenance, but in very deed so sad and ashamed of her faulte, (I thinke it is because she sawe me not since before,) so that I cannot yet, since she came, gett her to eat, in all that she hathe eaten nowe these ij dayes, not so muche as a chicken’s leg. She makes me even afraide of her ; and therefore I wryte the gladlier, for that I thinke a lyttel comfort wold do well.

“ And so I ende my long begging letter ; but iff you canne helpe us to these alms, we wol never beg no more ; but worke for our lyving, lyke honest poor folke : so as I truste, by God’s helpe, the Queene shall have cause to lyke well of us ; and you, no cause to repynt you of any good deed that you shal doo for us. Praying God to be with you, and reste.—From the Queene’s house at Grenwyche ; this ixth of Auguste, [1567].—And for my lyeing so well here, I pray you most frendely to geve her Majestie moste humbly thanks for me ; and, as my bounden deutey is, so I doe dayly pray God to looke on her, as her Majestie hath myrcyfully looked on me.

Your assured frend to my power,

K. SUFFOLK.”

• “To my very frend, Mr. Secrettorry.”—Dom. Corr. St. P. Off.

The month of June 1569 terminated the period of the Lady Mary Grey's confinement under the charge of the Duchess of Suffolk; and she was transferred to the care of Sir Thomas Gresham. It was during the period of her abode under his roof, that Queen Elizabeth visited Sir Thomas, on the occasion of naming the Royal Exchange; and the peculiar relation in which she stood to his fair charge, must have rendered the visit a remarkable one. The haughty queen, in all the splendour of royalty, confronting the fallen Lady Mary, would form a subject for a painter. The latter might once have contested with Elizabeth the honours of sovereignty; but her ill-starred family had one by one perished on the scaffold, or in prison; and she, the last and youngest, had by a single act of imprudence lowered herself from the highest rank to the degree of a common subject. She was even a prisoner, and the queen's enmity was not to be softened by submission or entreaty. Lady Mary may possibly have adopted matrimony as a measure of precaution, in the false hope that nuptials so unambitious in their object, would be sufficiently indicative of humility of spirit, and would recommend her to the indulgence of the queen. This is the view which Fuller takes of the subject. "Frighted," he says, "with the infelicity of her two elder sisters, Jane

and Katharine, she forgot her honour to remember her safety ; and married one whom *she* could *love*, and *none* need *fear*." It was probably thus that her mother, Frances Duchess of Suffolk, bartered for security the honours of her ancient house, when she ignobly united herself to a commoner, named Adrian Stokes.[†]

How unwelcome to Sir Thomas Gresham this addition to his family was, appears from every page of his subsequent correspondence. Henceforth he scarcely wrote a letter, either to Sir William Cecil, (who became Lord Burghley in the early part of 1571,) or to the Earl of Leicester, without availing himself of the opportunity to urge "the removing of my Lady Mary Grey." In August we find him complaining of the burthen ; and again in September he concludes a letter of considerable "pith and moment," with a request "that it may please you to doo my most humble comendaceons to my Lorde of Leasster, [and] that it may please you bothe to have my sewte in remembrans for my Ladye Mary Graye." At the end of a year, the following interesting postscript is appended to a letter which was written to congratulate Sir William Cecil on his convalescence, and return to court. "I have wrytten to

[†] Camden's Annales, &c. 1625, p. 80.

[†] Lansd. MS. No. xii. artt. 8 and 11.

my Lorde of Leassitor to move the Queene's Majestie for the removing of my Ladie Mary Grey, who haythe beene with me this xv monthes. I praye you to sett your good helpyng hande for the removing of her; for that my wyffe wold gladly ryde into Norfocke for to see her olde mother, whoe ys iiiii ^{xx} x [four score and ten] yeres of age, and a very weacke woman, not licke to lyve longe." *

This pleasing trait at once recommends Gresham and his wife to our favourable opinion, and tends to acquit them of unkindness towards their unfortunate and unwilling guest, by explaining in some degre the nature of the inconvenience of which they complained. Elsewhere, we are told of Lady Gresham's "bondaige and harte sorrowe," which makes it pretty evident that the inmate thus forced upon them prevented them from disposing of their leisure, and considering themselves as masters of their own movements: in further proof of which, another passage shall be cited, written about the same time, and interesting under more than one point of view. The allusion at the beginning is to a matter of finance.

"Sir, I wolde have wayttid upon you myself for to debate this matter at large, and to doo my dewtie unto you; but that it haithe pleased God

* Gresham-House, Sept. 20, 1570.—Dom. Corr. St. P. Off.

to vissyte one of my howse at Oyesterly of the plague: so that I dare not come to the courte without leve. Albeit, I have shut up my howse; and I and my wife, wythe all my howse be at London, and doo inteand wythe the Queene's Majestie's leve to ryde withe my wife and howsholde to my howse at Mayfilde in Sussexe, xxxv myles owt of London, if I had dispatchid these bondes over. Most humbly besceching you as to knowe the Queene's Majestie's pleasure what I shall doo wythe my Lady Mary Gray: trusting that now her Majestie wolde be so good unto me as to remove her from me, considering that she haythe now beene wyth me this xvi monthes. Other I have not to molest your honour withal, but that I have delyvered to one of your masons the iiij pillers of collorid marbill, with their furniture in good order. As knoweth the Lorde, who preserve you with increase of honnor.—From London, the xxiind of October, a^o 1570.

At your honnor's commandement,

THOMAS GRESHAM.*

Reserving for a subsequent page some notices of Mayfield palace, to which Sir Thomas Gresham proposed retiring in this sudden emergency with his wife and household, the reader may be interested to learn, with reference to the preceding

* Dom. Corr. St. P. Off.

letter, that the ~~mable~~ columns mentioned in the concluding passage were destined for Burleigh, in Lincolnshire. This property had been carried into the family of Sir William Cecil by his mother, and was ever regarded as the family seat, though Cecil made Theobalds his usual country residence, in consequence of its greater proximity to the metropolis. He demolished the old house at Burleigh, and on its site raised the magnificent pile to which his elder son Thomas succeeded, and which is at present inhabited by his lineal descendant, the Marquis of Exeter. It may perhaps be remembered, that in a former page we have had more than one allusion to the same edifice, on which Henrick (the architect of the Royal Exchange) was employed. ‘The galirie,’ ‘the port,’ ‘the pillars for the galirie,’ and ‘the paving stones,’ are in particular mentioned; and the ‘iiij pillars of collorid marbill,’ mentioned in the letter last quoted, are stated to have arrived from Antwerp in good order, on the 13th of October. As early as January 1563, Clough was corresponding with Cecil respecting the fashion of his gallery and pillars, and wrote to ask whether the secretary would prefer that the mason should make them ‘antyke or moderne:’ thus affording an additional proof of the extent to which English

edifices at this period were indebted to our Flemish neighbours for their decorations. It is remarkable enough, that in the brief description of Burleigh to be found in the history of Lincolnshire, the "spacious hall, supported by twelve Ionic columns of Sienna scagliola, and *handsomely paved with squares of black and white marble,*" is particularly commended.

Throughout the years 1570 and 1571, we find in every letter the same request that Lady Mary Grey might be removed out of Sir Thomas Gresham's family :^a the monotony of which petitions is painfully broken by a letter, dated the 8th of September, from which the following is an extract. "It maie please you to be advertised that one Mr. Doctor Smythe, (my Ladie Mary Greye's physician,) as this day, at xii of the clocke at noone, brought me worde that Mr. Keyes, late Sargeant portter, is departtid; which I have

^a The following is the most interesting letter of the class alluded to.—"It maie like your Lordship to understand, that the Queene's Majestie dothe give my Ladie Mary yerely iiij^{xx} *li.*, [80*l.*] and she hathe in lande xx *li.* [20*l.*] by yere; and this ys all that she hathe in possession. And in reversion of the Duchess of Suffolk, v c marcks [or 333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*], and v c marcks of her father-in-lawe. Thus rendering unto the Queene's Majestie my most humble thankes for the delyverie of my Ladye Mary, and for her great goodness always showed unto me; trusting so to use her highness' creditors in the prolongation of her debts, to her Majestie's great honnor and credit. Other I have not to molest your

broken unto my Ladie Mary,—whose death she grievously tackethe. Whoe hathe requested me to wryte unto you, to be a meyne to the Queene's Majestie to be good unto her, and that she maye have her Majestie's leve for to kepe and bringe up his children. As lykewyse, I desier to know her Majestie's pleasure, whether I shall suffer her to wear any black mornynge aparell, or not. Trusting that now I shall be presently dispachid of hir, by your good meynes, and my Lorde of Leassitor's, to whom it maye please you to doo my most humble commendacions."*

Thus terminates the history of poor Keys, who probably ended his days in the Fleet prison. There is a touch of the ludicrous in the whole episode which detracts a little from its pathos; but it cannot fail to rouse one's indignation, let one's loyalty be as hearty as it may, to find Elizabeth Lordship withall, but that I thanke you for your comfortable [letter], which I shall follow (God willing) till your coming, or till that I shall wayte upon you, which I trust (God willing) shall be uppon Sunday next. So that, as this day, my seurgeants hath willed me to go abrode; as knoweth the Lorde, who preserve you with increase of [honor]. From Gresham-House, the xixth of July, a^o 1571.

At your Lordship's commaundement,

THOMAS GRESHAM."

"To the right honorable and my very singeular good Lorde, the Lord of Bowrley, one of the Queene's Majestie's most honorable privie counsell."

* Dom. Corr. St. P. Off.

abeth thus trifling with the lives of subjects so inoffensive, and undeserving of suspicion as the sergeant-porter and his high-born lady. We are also moved by the quaint notice Gresham takes of Lady Mary's sorrow; and her natural wish to transfer her widowed affections to the children of the man she had loved. She seems to have indeed "grievously taken" her husband's death. Besides her wish to wear "black mornyng aparell," (which Gresham might surely have allowed the poor creature to wear, without noticing the matter to Lord Burghley,) it will be regarded as a touching circumstance, that although she had hitherto invariably subscribed her letters with her maiden name "Mary Gray," she now plucked up courage to deviate from that practice. It was but once that she ventured to do so; for in her next letter she is Mary Gray again; but in this, the first moment of bitterness, she signed her name (and in a letter to Lord Burghley, too!) "Mary Keys."—"Seeing that God had taken awaye the occasion of her Majestie's justly conceived displeasure," she wrote from Osterley, begging to be restored to the queen's favour,—that "great and long desiered juell," as she calls it. This was on the 7th of October. On the 5th, Gresham had said, "It may please you to see me have an end of my

sewte for the removing of my Lady Mary Grey, for the quyetness of my poor wife :” and having ridden to town on the 8th, he again petitioned Lord Burghley to the same effect : adding, a few days after, that his guest was desirous of being removed to her father-in-law’s, Mr. Stokes, “and to dwell and keep house with him.” Of how little avail the representations of either party had been, we learn from their subsequent letters. But in the beginning of the following year, it would seem that some promise on the subject had been obtained from Burghley ; for Sir Thomas Gresham wrote from Mayfield on the 5th of March, 1571-2, as follows : “ Righte honnorable and my verye singgeular good Lorde. This ys to render unto your Lordship both my wife’s humble thanckes and myne, for the good remembrance that you will have of my wife’s sewte for the removing of my Ladie Mary Grey ; wherein your Lordeship shall do her no small pleasure, considering what bondaige and harte sorrow she hath had for this three yere, wherein I have often tymes moved the Queene’s Majestie to be good unto me and her, therein ; as your Lordeship doth right well know. Most humbly desyring your Lordeship that I may have an end thereof now, and yf it be possible. And whereas I have allowyd my Lorde of Oxford for his money but

after x per centum, I shall be content to allow hym after xii per centum; wythe any service I can do for hym and you.”^b

“Other I have not to moleast your Lordeshipe wythe,” he wrote in 1572, “but that it may please you and my Lord of Leasstre to have me in your good remembrans to the Queene’s Majestie, for the removing of my Ladye Grey, who haythe now bynne wythe me three yeres come June.” Next week, and the week after, he repeats his request, and hopes that Lord Burghley is not forgetting his “sewte for the removing of my Lady Mary Greye.” At the end of a month, he becomes still more urgent; “other I have not to moleast your Lordeshipe wytheall, but that it may please you to be so good Lord unto me, as that I maye have my Lady Mary Grey removid owght of hand, seeing that her Majestie haythe holly refferyd the matter to you and my Lorde Leassitor; wherein your Lordeshipe shall do me and my wiffe a very singgeular good torne, as knoweth the Lorde.”^c The lady herself, (writing from Gresham-House at the same time,) deplores her “miserable and wretched case” to Lord Burghley, who it seems had dis-

^b Dom. Corr. St. P. Off. It will be remembered that the earl had married Lord Burghley’s daughter, Anne.

^c Murdin’s State Papers, pp. 212, 213, and 217.

approved of her choice of Mr. Stokes (the husband of her mother) for a guardian ; and desired her to select another of her friends. She knew no one else who would undertake the office ; and implored Burghley to “speake unto her Majestie, that as it hathe pleased her Majestie, altogether undesarvid by my passed faulte, to sett me att leberty,—so, seinge thatt I am destetud of all frendes, (butt only God and her Majestie,) so I maye by her most gracyous apoyntement be in som place of reste. Also, my lyvinge is no waye so greatt (as your Lordeship doth knowe) wherby I maye healpe my selfe thatt way into any place ; for I have butt four score pound a yere of her Majestie : of my owne, I have butt twenty pound : and as your Lordeship knoweth, there is nobody will bourd me for so lyttell. As for my father-in-law, I know he will geve me nothyng now : for befor his mariage I had lytel ; and now, I loke for less. Wherefor, beinge in this messery, I knowe nott to whom to fly for sucker, but only unto her Majestie.”^d

We meet with no subsequent letters of Lady Mary Grey ; and from the silence of Sir Thomas Gresham on this subject in 1573, it is probable that by repeated applications he succeeded in getting rid of his fair guest before the year

^d May 24, 1572.—Dom. Corr. St. P. Off.

expired : and it is to be hoped that the lady was ultimately restored to the queen's favour ; for on the 1st of January, 1577-8, she presented Elizabeth at Hampton-Court, with "two pair of swete gloves, with fower dosen buttons of golde, in every one a sede perle ;" and received in return, "a cup with a cover" weighing 18 ounces.* She ended her days a widow ; and died in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldersgate, on the 20th of April, 1578.—From her will, which is dated only a few days previous to her decease, and of which a rough draft is preserved in the British Museum, she appears to have been mistress of but little property ; and this she bequeathed to her god-daughter Jane Merrick, her sister Lady Mary Bertie, and distributed in trinkets among her favourite ladies of the court.† Of her character we have little means of judging ; unless indeed Lady Gresham's dissatisfaction at having her for a constant inmate is to be received as evidence against her. In a note‡ will be found

* Nichols' Progresses, &c. vol. ii. pp. 65 and 81. Sir Thomas and the Lady Gresham presented on the same occasion 10*l.* each : and they gave the same sum at Richmond, in 1578-9.

† Lansd. MS. No. xxvii. art. 31.

‡ The following document, bearing the above-mentioned date and title, is preserved in the State Paper Office.

"[*Eng.* A Bible printed at Geneva.—A Bible of the Bishop's translation.—The booke of Martyrs in two volumes.—Mr. Latimer's sermons.—Mr. Whitegifte's aunswere to the admonition.—

“The names of all such books as the Ladie Marie Grey lefte behind her at her death,”—a document which bears date June 1st, 1578, and which suggests some interesting considerations. From this it would seem that she was a studious person; and one who sought to relieve the tedium of solitude and confinement by meditation and prayer. She was evidently strongly confirmed in the Protestant faith.

It seemed desirable to bring our account of this high-born lady to a close, before resuming the narrative of Sir Thomas Gresham's life: but her history, from the period when her connexion with Gresham commenced,—namely, in 1569, embraces so considerable a period, that it now

Luther upon the epistle to the Galatians.—Mr. Dearing's lectures upon the Hebrues.—Mr. Knewstubbe's readings.—Doctor Fulkes his aunswere to the popishe demands, with his aunswere to Allen, touchinge Purgatorie.—The image [?] of God by Hutchenson.—The shippe of assured safetie, by D. Cradocke.—Mr. Knox his aunswere to the adversarie of God's predestination.—The booke of comon praier, psalter, and psalmes.—Mr. Cartwright's first and second replie.—The second course of the hunter at the Romishe fox.—The dignitie of the Scriptures.—The first admonition to the parliament.—Certaine orations of Demosthenes and his life. [*Fren.* Palsgrave's grammer and dictionarie.—Three books of Isocrates.—The Bible in French.—Institution of Christian princes.—Of the duetie of perseverance.—The edict of pacification. [*Ital.* A comment upon the fowre Evangelists.—A treatise of the deeds of the true successors of Christ.—The life of the Countie Balthazar Castalione.—A treatise of the resurrection of the dead.”

becomes necessary to go back a little, and inquire more particularly into the movements and occupations of our principal character since the death of Richard Clough. That event, which occurred in the summer of 1570, seems to disconnect Gresham more completely than ever from the continent: we view him, henceforth, active indeed, and occupied with the same cares as of old; but no longer passing to and from Antwerp as formerly, or in the same frequent communication with Germany and Flanders.

For this, many reasons may be assigned: the first and principal being, that the merchants of London now in a great measure superseded the necessity which had been anciently felt, for having recourse to foreigners to supply the pecuniary necessities of the state. Those who are interested in the contemporary annals of the metropolis will have noticed some particulars illustrative of this subject in the Appendix; but the general reader will only require to be informed, that among the wealthiest of the merchants, there were found several who were always willing to advance sums of 1000*l.* or 2000*l.* each, for periods of six months, on interest at the rate of 12 per cent. per annum. The brokerage or commission of 1 per cent. on all such sums, was the remuneration of the queen's factor; and very ample this

must have been, since we heard him state in the year 1566, that the sums which he had negotiated up to that period for Queen Elizabeth alone, amounted to 1,100,000*l*.

Occasionally, however, it was found necessary to have recourse to the continent; and besides renewing the obligations of the crown to the Low-Country merchants as the half-yearly bonds became due, to negotiate fresh loans at Hamburg. Thus in October, 1570, Gresham wrote to beg that the queen's bonds might be made ready by the morrow (24th), when the merchant-adventurers would send a post, at night, to Hamburg: "which if it shall please you to send me, with the City's, and a lettre to the Lorde Maior, I shall have it dispatched tomorrow, at their Court of Assemblie: otherwise, it will not be don these xiiij daies, bie reason theie keepe no more courtes till the Maior's feast be past."^h Writing three days after, he says:—"Since the arrest made in Andwarpe, it is not unknown unto your honnor that I have divers times sent into Germany, and could never obtaine monny there at any time, till this present;" (alluding to an opportunity which had just presented itself of obtaining a loan at Cologne of 100,000 dollars). "I never saw the

^h To Sir W. Cecil. London, Oct. 23, 1570.—Dom. Corr. St. P. Off.

scarcity of monny as ys here now in the city of London ; giving you to understand that Mr. Spinola and divers of th' Aldermen hathe been in hande with me for paiement of their monnye, dew the xxth of this next month. Most humblie desyring you that I maie know the Queenc's Majestic's pleasure how I shall behave myself for the paiement thereof.—Other I have not to molest your honour withal, but that I am requested by my brother Thynneⁱ to be a meane unto you for my cosyn John Coles, (that married my neece, his daughter,) for the feodariship of Somersetshire. As likewise Mr. Reve (one of the justices of Myddlesex, and one that I am beholden unto,) hath desired me to be a meane unto you as to grant him the stewardship of Wimbeton ; who will serve your honnor without anny fee, for the good will and dutie he owith to you.

“ And whereas your honnor did optaigne passport for me, for transporting into Flanders of xl tunnes of alabaster, which is shipped in the Gilden Fawcon, Mr. Christian Janson [commander], the same ship will not be permitted to depart from hence without speciall license : whereunto it may please your honnor to helpe me, seeing I had the

ⁱ Sir John Thynne, of Longleat in Wiltshire : he married Gresham's sister Christiana.

like of the Duke for passage of my stones from Andwerpe, for my Burse. Also it maie please you to have in your remembrance my sute for the removing of my Ladie Mary Gray, and for *iiii li. ix[s.] viii d.* that [it] hath pleased the Queene's Majestie to geve me. Thus the Lorde preserve you, with increase of honnor. From London, the 26th of October, 1570.

At your honnor's commandement,

THOMAS GRESHAM." ^k

The want of punctuality in the government in pecuniary transactions, seems to have been the original obstacle to the operations which Gresham by his perseverance and skill had at last succeeded in organizing: and to this subject, when six months more had nearly expired, we find him again calling the attention of Lord Burghley, in the following words. "Assuring your honnor, I am dailie callid uppon amongst the aldermen and others, that they maie not faile of their monney dew in Maye next: wishing I were of that credit able to perswade her Majestie and you, there might be some ways found for their payment, for th'advancing of her Majestie's credit amongst her own subjects. And so doing, her Majestie cannot lack in monney matters, if it were for *xl or l m li.* [40 or 50,000*l.*] within

^k Dom. Corr. St. P. Off.

her city of London Also it may please your Lordship to license me to put you in remembrance that there is yet in the Towre xxv or xxx m *li.* in Spanneyshe monney; which is great pity should lye there dead, and put to no use. Her Majestie should do verie well to cause it to be coyned into her highness own coyn, to serve this turn, if it cannot otherwise be holpen: and I doubt not but when her Majestie is agreed with Flaunders, to serve this turn again, onlie by my credit.”¹

Notwithstanding the cogency of this appeal, it is evident that the representations of Sir Thomas Gresham did not have the desired effect; since, towards the close of 1571, we find him stating that the citizens had become urgent for their money: reminding Burghley, that two years had now elapsed since it had been borrowed of them: and requesting that they might be paid out of the subsidy money,^m—a fund of which special notice was taken in the last chapter.

One other reason why Gresham seems not to have absented himself from England during his latter years, was the disturbed state of the continent. He had an agent at Hamburg in the person of Thomas Dutton, to whom the reader

¹ London, March 7, 1570-1.—Dom. Corr. St. P. Off.

^m Gresham-House, Sept. 8. 1571.—Ibid.

has been already introduced, and who seems to have been joined there by Hugh Clough: the place of the latter in Lombard-Street having been supplied by Thomas Cely, and one Hogan. At Antwerp, where, notwithstanding the distracted state of the Low Countries, an agent seems to have been still found indispensable, we find mention of "my doer Harvey." In the month of January 1572, Gresham says of the latter, that journeying homewards with the queen's bonds and those of the city of London, together with a number of "letters of our nacion, he was stayed at the towne of Arcke, in Flaunders, by the baylly." "I have written to Harvye," he adds, "that if twenty crowns will redeem them, to paye it, rather than I would have the Duke of Alva, and the ambassador here, moved of the matter; considering what a bissey man he is."ⁿ Alluding apparently to Despes, who about this time was ordered by the council to quit the realm.

Perhaps, if yet another reason is to be given why we meet with no more letters of Gresham from the continent, the circumstance may in some degree be ascribed to the accident which in former years had befallen his leg in Flanders. The reader may remember that in one of his posting expeditions in 1560, he met with a fall

ⁿ Gresham-House, Jan. 7, 1571-2.—Dom. Corr. St. P. Off.

from his horse, and that a broken leg was the consequence. It had probably been badly set by some village practitioner, for it continued to be a constant source of pain and inconvenience to him ever after. "For their counsell and helpe in phesick and surgery," he left to four surgeons,— "Mr. Doctor Lankton, Dr. Jefford, and Rauf Morrys," annuities of 40s. each; and to William Gothers, 5*l.* per annum: the meaning of which bequests is explained by such passages in his correspondence as the two following. The first was written from Gresham-House, on the 1st of August, 1571.—"Right honorable, and my very singular good Lorde. This ys most humbly to desire you as that now you would see me have an end of my sewte for the removing of my Ladie Mary Grey: for the which I have writtin to my Lorde of Leicester.—I would have wayttid uppon you myself, but that as yet I cannot get my legge whole; wyche must come onely with rest, as my surgeons informyth me." The other passage wherein Gresham particularly alludes to his fractured limb, constitutes part of the postscript of his letter to Lord Burghley from Mayfield, dated March 5th, 1571-2. "I have this daye returnyd Dirricke, the sowrgeant, home agayen; whoe haithe browghte my legge to some good passe now that the bones be come out: and sayeth that

he will hele it very shortely. Pretending, wythe the leve of God to be with you uppon Sundaye next." °

The date of this letter suggests the fulfilment of the intention expressed in a former page, to give some account of Mayfield, in Sussex,—the seat to which Gresham retired with his wife and household in October 1570, when one of his servants was ill of the plague at Osterley. This had been for centuries a favourite palace of the Archbishops of Canterbury ; and from the magnificent ruins which yet remain,—especially of the venerable and spacious hall, with its lofty arches,—it is not difficult to form an idea of what it must have been in the days of its glory.^p It surpassed all Gresham's other residences in point of splendour ; containing furniture which, alone, was estimated at 7,550*l.* :^q and here it was that Queen Elizabeth, during her Kentish progress in 1573, honoured Sir Thomas Gresham with a visit. No

° Dom. Corr. St. P. Off.

^p Several water-colour drawings of Mayfield Palace, made in 1783, are to be seen in Burrell's MSS. among the Add. MSS. Brit. Mus. No. 5671, fol. 24 to 36.

^q Ward's Lives, &c. p. 27.—The professor quotes "Sir Thomas Gresham's Journal, MS." as his authority ; but I have not been able to obtain tidings of the existence of any such document. If this curiosity really does exist, and was in Ward's hands, why did he make use of it only on such an insignificant occasion as the present ?

particulars of that event are recorded ; save that on leaving Berling-Place, the seat of the Neville family, her majesty progressed to Mayfield on the 2nd or 3rd of August, and was for a few days hospitably entertained by its owner. One of the rooms is called ' the queen's chamber ' to this day, and is said to be the same which Queen Elizabeth occupied. Over the mantel-piece in that apartment is carved the date 1371 ; and near it, is said to be the crest of the Gresham family : but this is so obliterated as not to be clearly discerned.' Sir Thomas seems to have become possessed of Mayfield by purchase at an early period of his life ; but, besides the preceding passages, an entry in the parish-register of the burial of one of his servants in 1576, is almost the only trace discoverable that he ever made it his residence.* A considerable portion of the palace is still inhabited as a farm-house ; though the greater part is a heap of picturesque ruins, as will be perceived from the engraving which precedes the sixth chapter. In a letter already quoted, which Gresham wrote from Mayfield on the 5th of March, 1571-2, the following passage occurs : " Mr. Danyell departs this daye ; who haythe shewed me great friendship wyth his coming, in amend-

* From Mr. Nicholas Stone, of Mayfield.

* From the Rev. John Kirby, vicar of Mayfield.

ing my furnace, and melting of my irone: for the wyche I shall desire your Lordeship most humbly to geve hym your thanckes on my behalf." Concerning the iron-works here spoken of, it may be worth mentioning that there is a house yet standing on the ground belonging to the palace, near the place where the furnace was: which is supposed to have been the residence of the master of the works, from the peculiar construction of an arch in the cellar. The last forge that was in work at Mayfield was called Bibleham-forge, which was worked as lately as the year 1778. One at Rotherfield, called Hamsell-forge, and a furnace at Heathfield, (adjoining parishes,) were in work about the same time. Previous to the above-mentioned date, the iron-works were very extensive in Sussex; but there is not much trace of them at present.[†]

It is unfortunately impossible, more completely than has been attempted in the foregoing extracts, to trace our principal character during the first five or six years which succeeded Clough's death. We are to picture him throughout that period, residing principally in Bishopsgate-street. Lady Mary Grey for three years forms an integral part of the family group, which is completed by the addition of the Lady Gresham; concerning whom,

[†] From Mr. Nicholas Stone.

as might be expected, the official correspondence of Sir Thomas reveals so little. Occasionally, all three repair to Osterley together: once, we noticed Gresham's intended journey into Norfolk, on a visit to his wife's aged mother; and we have twice tidings of their residence at Mayfield, in Sussex; where, in 1573, as was stated a few pages back, Sir Thomas Gresham had the honour of entertaining the queen and her court.—In July 1572, when Elizabeth was setting out on her summer progress, royal letters were addressed to the lord mayor, (Sir Lionel Duckett,) desiring him, for the better government of the metropolis during her absence, and for the maintenance of good order therein, as well as in the suburbs and other places adjoining to the city out of his jurisdiction, once every week to avail himself of the advice and assistance of the following persons “of great trust, wisdom, and experience, or some convenient number of them, viz. the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, Lord Wentworth, Sir Anthony Cook, Sir Thomas Wroth, Sir Owyn Hopton, Sir Thomas Gresham, Dr. Wylson, and Thomas Wilbraham.” Such advantageous results were found to ensue from this judicious arrangement, that it was afterwards always resorted to on similar occasions; and Gresham continued to be one of the commission till within a year of his

death."—In 1576, we find Gresham associated with some of the leading men in the state, in an inquiry into the condition of foreign exchanges, and other matters of a similar nature.*—Had the secretaryship of Sir William Cecil been prolonged, we should have had tidings of many of these circumstances from the pen of Sir Thomas Gresham himself: but with his friend's elevation to the peerage in 1571, and to the dignity of lord-treasurer in 1572, on the death of the old Marquis of Winchester, a marked change is visible in the State-Papers. Walsingham did not preserve and endorse the documents which came under his custody with the same religious care as his predecessor, or his papers shared a worse fate. Henceforth, the letters we meet with are comparatively "few and far between."

Looking back at the characters which interested us at an earlier stage of our history, we find the young grown to manhood, and immersed in the busy concerns of life; and the elder personages, retired or retiring from the scene. The Earl of Pembroke and the Marquis of Winches-

* See Maitland's *London*, book i. p. 157; and Stowe's *Survey*, ed. 1720, book v. pp. 434-5.—See also Wright's *Elizabeth and her Times*, vol. ii. p. 88.

† The maintenance of free trade, &c. by Gerard Malynes, merchant, 8vo. 1622, p. 15.—Malynes lived in St. Helen's parish.

ter ;—Sir Thomas Parry and Dean Wotton ;—Cardinal Chastillon and Sir Thomas Rowe ;—all these had departed. Young Thomas Cecil had become a soldier : Windebank was to be found at court : Schetz was more deeply engaged than ever in commerce and politics : and Dansell, who still lingers on the stage, appears in the character of an useful citizen and subject. Of each of these persons the writer had prepared a few brief notices, but his narrowing limits forbid their insertion. Sir William Cecil's promotion to the peerage, however, deserves to be more distinctly noticed. Alluding to this accession of dignity in a letter which he wrote a few weeks after the event to his friend Nicholas Whyte, one of the privy-council in Ireland, the newly-created peer subscribed himself thus :—" Your's, not changed in frendshipp though in name ; and yet *that* not unknown to you, when you were with me nere *Stamford*. W. BURGHLEY.

My stile is, Lord of *Burghley*, if you meane to know it for your wrytyng, and if you list to wryte truly :—the poorest lord in England !"

The tide of general history, as it no longer affects the current of Gresham's life, has no longer the same claims as formerly on our attention ; but the affairs of Flanders deserve a passing notice. When last they came under consideration, Eng-

land was in collision with that country, in consequence of the memorable breach of 1568 ; and the close of the first campaign of the Prince of Orange seemed to mark an epoch in the internal history of the same unhappy people. Since then, many important events had occurred. As it had been the Inquisition which in the first instance aroused the spirit of the people, so was it subsequently the Duke of Alva's attempted exaction of the tenth penny throughout the Low Countries, which drove them into open rebellion. So disastrous did this tyrannical attempt prove in its consequences, that it had the effect of first opening King Philip's eyes to the danger with which his Flemish dominions were threatened. Indignant with his general, who he now perceived was ruining an empire in order to gratify his own individual avarice, he sent the Duke of Medina Celi to supplant him ; ordering him at the same time to return immediately to Spain. This arrangement, however, was not productive of the desired consequences. Alva refused to obey the king's orders : while the newly-appointed governor, alarmed and disgusted with the condition in which he found the Low Countries, was as little inclined to avail himself of the authority with which he had been invested. On effecting his landing in Flanders in May 1572, many of his ships were burnt

and plundered before his eyes, and he himself compelled to escape to the shore in a small boat. He lost no time in tendering to King Philip his resignation, which was accepted.

With very different success to that which had attended his arms in 1568, did the Prince of Orange open the campaign of 1572. He had employed the interval in cementing an alliance with the Huguenots in France; and having had frequent opportunities of intercourse with the Admiral de Coligni, he now struck a blow,—the consequence of his communication with that great commander,—which proved decisive in turning the scale in his favour. The admiral's advice was, that possession should be obtained of some sea-port; whence a system of naval warfare might be maintained with security and immense effect against the Spaniards, who were unprovided with ships and sailors in the Low Countries. The execution of the scheme was entrusted to William de la Marck, Count de Lumay (the celebrated *wild boar of Ardennes*,) who, on Palm Sunday, (1st April, 1572,) surprised, and in a few hours obtained possession of the little town of Briele in the island of Voorn. Inconsiderable as this feat may appear, the consequences of which it was immediately productive were so memorable and so decisive, that the capture of Briele has been con-

sidered as the corner-stone on which was based the republic of the United Provinces.

No sooner did the Prince of Orange and his brother Lewis obtain tidings of Lumay's success, than they led forward their respective armies: while, in less than three months, upwards of seventy towns threw off their allegiance to Spain, and asserted their independence. Even Alva was alarmed and astonished. Roused from his schemes of extortion and cruelty, he proceeded to take the field against the Prince of Orange and his numerous followers; but it was too late to retrieve his lost ground. Many of the *gueux* had betaken themselves to the sea; and they now numbered in the port of Flushing one hundred and fifty armed vessels,—of course making common cause with the prince: while Alva's attention was further distracted by daily intelligence of fresh acts of insubordination in different parts of the provinces.

It was high time that a successor to the duke should be appointed, who, if he could not repair the mischief which the latter had so assiduously occasioned, might at least arrest the progress of the evil: and Don Louis de Zuniga y Requesens, commander of the order of Knights of Malta, was nominated to the office. He arrived at Brussels in November 1573, when he experienced a

courteous reception from the Duke of Alva; and the latter, leaving the Low Countries a month later, proceeded into Italy,—burthened with the treasures and the curses of the nation with whose destinies he had been in an evil hour entrusted.

We return to our principal character with more than ordinary satisfaction; for having nothing further to relate concerning the cares and occupations of this period of his existence, it becomes our pleasing duty to notice that action on which his claims to the applause of posterity have sometimes been supposed altogether to rest. In the vigour of manhood, and when more intent on commercial pursuits, he had devoted a portion of his wealth, as we have seen, to the erection of a Bourse for the convenience of others engaged in the same occupations as himself; or, as it is expressed on his bust at Stowe, “for carrying on the commerce of the world.” Since the commencement of that undertaking, ten years had now elapsed. The founder of the Royal Exchange had lost the intelligent friend, in accordance with whose suggestions that edifice had arisen; and to whose active co-operation he was in no slight degree indebted for its ultimate and successful completion: he had also lived to witness the most flourishing community in Europe ruined and reduced to misery by the arbitrary

enactments of a single individual. Events such as these, may have somewhat cooled his ardour for those pursuits which, when a young man, the example of his father and uncles had in the strongest manner recommended to his attention ; and in the calmer moments which he now often passed,—periods of infirmity and confinement, or seasons of relaxation from business, which he had no children to enliven,—he must more than once have had occasion to speculate with the eye of a practical philosopher on the vicissitudes of his past existence. He had lived during four of the most remarkable reigns which have ever succeeded each other in the annals of English history : and his individual experience had taught him how low a value is to be set on the common objects which men propose to themselves in the higher, as well as in the lower walks of ambition. Yet such was the happiness of his moral constitution, that the pictures of the past which his memory brought before him, neither soured his temper on the one hand, nor filled him with visionary views on the other. The experience of a long life had evidently brought him to this simple conclusion : that the cultivation of the understanding and the education of the heart give birth to the purest pleasures, as well as to the most ennobling aspirations ; and that the best

gifts which a state has in its power to bestow on its youthful members, are sound learning and religious principles. To the accomplishment of this object, as far as it seemed attainable by his individual exertions, he now nobly resolved to devote the fortune which he had formerly acquired in his country's service.

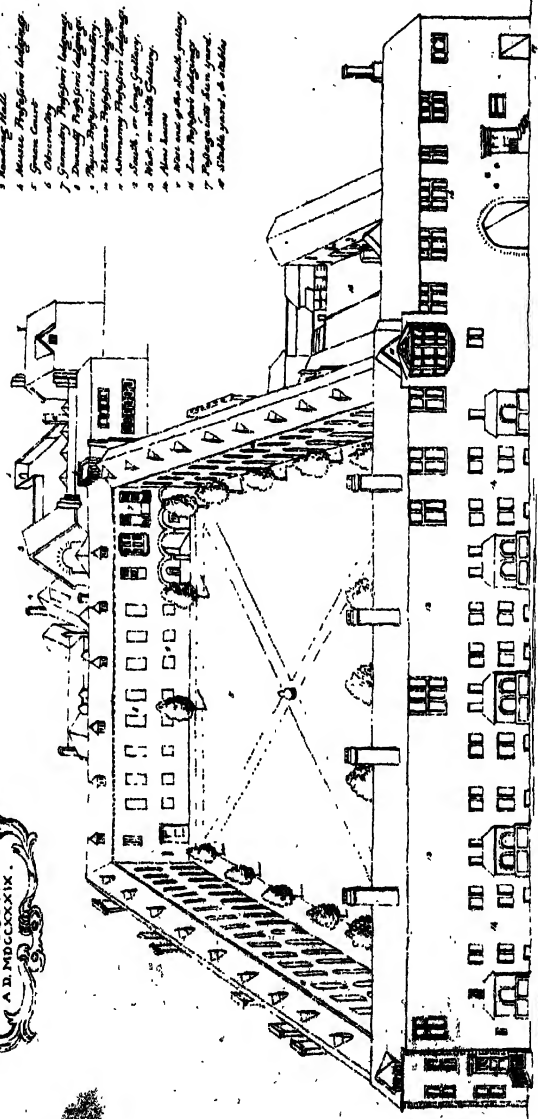
It was perhaps towards the close of the year 1574, or the beginning of 1575, that he had sufficiently matured his plan openly to announce his intentions of founding a college in London, for the gratuitous instruction of all who chose to come and attend the lectures. Not that the project originated at this period,—for it is evident that the same, or one very similar, had been for a long time entertained by him ; and it would seem that he had been once understood to promise that he would present 500*l.* to the university of Cambridge, where he had been educated,—either in support of some ancient foundation, or towards the erection of a new college. Of this, Alma Mater did not fail to remind him ; and the Latin letter which he received on the subject from Mr. Richard Bridgewater, the public orator, is still in existence. It is dated March the 14th, 1574–5 ; and was followed on the 25th of the same month by another letter, of which the object seems rather to have been, to combat any intention Sir

Thomas might have formed of displaying his liberality in London, or at Oxford. London seems to have been regarded by Cambridge with peculiar jealousy. The foundation of a college in that city would, she apprehended, prove prejudicial to the interests of both universities; and she urged as her claim to preference before Oxford, that Gresham had himself received his education within her walls. Simultaneously with this second letter, the university addressed the Lady Burghley, (whose husband was their Chancellor,) requesting her intercession with Sir Thomas Gresham, and insinuating that it was at that lady's instance, that Gresham had originally promised to endow a college; which they mention as now about to be erected in London, with a yearly revenue of more than 600*l*. To the instrumentality here attributed to Lady Burghley, I am inclined however to attach little credit, for it rests on no better authority than these complimentary letters; all three of which are written in such a fantastical style, and in such hyperbolical language, that they can pretend to little weight as historical documents.* It seems probable, indeed, that in erecting Gresham-House, its owner had in view the purpose to which it

* See Ward's *Lives*, &c., where they are printed at length. Appendix No. III.

COLLEGIUM
GRESHAMENSIS
LITERE OCCIDENTALI
PRAELECTORUM
A.D. MDCCCXIX.

1. Gate into Bishopsgate Street.
2. Myers Professor's buildings.
3. Reading Hall.
4. Museum Professor's buildings.
5. Science Court.
6. Observatory.
7. Secondary Professor's buildings.
8. Drawing Professor's buildings.
9. Myers Professor's laboratory.
10. Relative Professor's buildings.
11. Astronomy Professor's buildings.
12. South, or large Gallery.
13. West, or white Gallery.
14. Music Room.
15. Store room of the school, gallery.
16. Lane Professor's buildings.
17. Professor's water Lane ground.
18. Outside ground, or stable.



GRESHAM-HOUSE, IN BISHOPGATE STREET, AFTERWARDS GRESHAM-COLLEGE: PULLED DOWN A.D. 1768.

was ultimately to be applied, — a supposition which is not a little countenanced by its collegiate air ; the great reading hall with which it was furnished ; and the distribution of which its apartments proved susceptible for every purpose of a college. It is however by no means unlikely that so learned and accomplished a lady as the daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke should have confirmed the merchant in his high and patriotic resolve to confer on his native city the remarkable benefit which he now had in contemplation.

Pressing as were the solicitations with which the university of Cambridge assailed Sir Thomas Gresham, he was not to be diverted from his purpose. Doubtless his reason for remaining firm was, that at Cambridge there were public schools already, in abundance ; while in London there existed nothing which deserved that name. In the following July he accordingly framed his will, and made every necessary arrangement for the permanent prosperity of a college, which might be justly called ‘the epitome of an university.’ He ordained that the Lady Gresham should enjoy his mansion-house, as well as the rents arising from the Royal Exchange, during her life, in case she survived him ; but from the period of her death, both those properties were to be vested in the hands of the corporation of Lon-

don and the Mercers' Company. These public bodies were conjointly to nominate seven professors, who should lecture successively, one on every day of the week, on the seven sciences of divinity, astronomy, music, geometry, law, medicine, and rhetoric. The salaries of the lecturers were amply defrayed by the profits arising from the Royal Exchange, and were fixed at 50*l.* per annum ;—a more liberal remuneration than Henry VIII. had appointed for the Regius Professors of divinity at Oxford and Cambridge, and equivalent to at least 4 or 500*l.* at the present day.

In this enumeration of the seven sciences, it will be observed that Sir Thomas Gresham has assigned to music a very distinguished place. Divinity,—at once the most important, and the most sublime subject on which man can exercise his faculties,—stands foremost : astronomy, as the study which introduces him to a knowledge of the heavenly bodies, and most admirable of his Maker's works, naturally follows divinity, and occupies the second place : but immediately after these, and before the mention of geometry, law, medicine, and rhetoric,—which are, if I may be allowed the expression, *human sciences*,—music is introduced ; as of a nature so beautiful, that it may reasonably be doubted whether it partakes more of earth or of heaven. It will not, perhaps,

be fanciful to conclude from this circumstance, that Gresham was himself alive to the charms of music : be this as it may, it is deserving of notice, that although at Oxford and Cambridge music shares in academic honours with divinity, law, and medicine,—Gresham-college presents the only instance in England of an endowed lectureship for the promotion of that divine art.

But a more important inference is deducible from the foregoing enumeration of the seven sciences which Gresham appointed to be taught in his college. In an age when the best and wisest men were divided on the subject of religion, that the sound handling of the science of divinity should have been the principal object of his solicitude, is not remarkable. But it cannot fail to surprise every one who is at all acquainted with the state of learning in England during the sixteenth century, that astronomy should stand next in the catalogue ; indeed, that it should obtain notice there at all. When we find the principal noblemen of that age listening to the dreams of the astrologer, and only valuing the study of the stars as they seemed capable of revealing the destinies of man, we are no less surprised than gratified to meet with so unequivocal a proof that, by Sir Thomas Gresham at least, astronomy was not confounded with the foolish art which resembles it

so nearly in name. By associating it with divinity and the graver sciences, he showed himself aware of its importance ; and probably suspected, if he did not foresee, that it was capable of being made more useful than his contemporaries generally supposed. When he founded his lectureship, Copernicus alone had written on the subject of astronomy : the science was specifically inculcated neither at Oxford nor at Cambridge ; and may be said to have been unknown in England.

These preliminaries being settled, Sir Thomas further ordained that the professors should all be unmarried men, and that separate suites of apartments should be allotted to them in his house ; while the large garden which surrounded it, and the quiet and retirement of the place, he rightly deemed would be highly conducive to the comfort, and most favourable to the pursuits of the scientific persons who would in future make it their residence. But we must now take leave of Gresham-college, for we shall be obliged to recur to the subject in a subsequent page. It is enough for our purpose to have noticed the tone and temper of mind in which Sir Thomas Gresham grew an old man ; and to have detected the speculations which engaged his thoughts during his declining years. The charitable bequests which he made at the same time, must also

be reserved for a subsequent page : but it should not longer be concealed, that immediately behind his mansion, in the parish of St. Peter-the-Poor, he had constructed eight almshouses, for the inmates of which he provided liberally by his will. "In witness whereof," (such are its concluding words,) "I, the said Sir Thomas Gresham, have written this will all with myne owne hand ; and to each of the eight leaves have subscribed my name ; and to a labell fixed there unto all the eight leaves, have sette my seale with the grasshopper ; the 5th day of July, in the seventeenth yere of the raigne of our soveraigne lady Queene Elizabeth ; and in the yere of our Lord God, one thousand, five hundred, and seventy five."

The reader has had several opportunities of observing, that Sir Thomas Gresham made it a frequent practice to retire from the metropolis to one of his numerous residences in the country. Unfortunately for our purpose, of tracing the history of a private individual, however distinguished, who flourished in a distant age, it is most rare to meet with his private correspondence ; and hence the barrenness of the preceding pages in all that comes home to our bosoms, and most effectually appeals to our sympathies. Still, though we have had no account of how a day was passed at Intwood-Hall, we have had letters dated

from that ancient residence ; and we have followed our principal character thither more than once. We have no description of Ringshall near Battisford, in Suffolk ; but we know that Gresham resided there, and that in 1566, he “made all his provision for the timber of his Burse” in the adjoining woods. In a similar manner, we have noticed Gresham’s journey to Mayfield, and quoted his letters from that interesting seat ; though no chronicler has left us a description of the gaieties which prevailed there, when Queen Elizabeth paused at Sir Thomas’s house during her summer progress in 1573. Of Westacre, and many other of his residences, nothing is known whatsoever : but perhaps his favourite place of abode was Osterley, in Middlesex ; and concerning his house there, a few particulars are recorded.

It has been already mentioned that there occurs an entry in the register of burials at Heston, in which parish Osterley-House stood, which refers Gresham’s residence in that neighbourhood to the year 1562 : and in the spring of 1564, it will be remembered that we had more than one letter “from my poor dowffe howse at Oystreley :” alluding probably to the old manor-house, which he had demolished and re-built on a grander scale. Here, our merchant is again to be found in April 1565. Lady Cecil had been ill,

and Sir Thomas Gresham thus addressed her husband : "As I am right sorry that my Lady your [wife] is yll at ease, so I trust, upon her amendment, I shall see you here ; which will be no small comfort unto me. Upon Sunday, God willing, I will give my attendance upon you :"^{*} and he thanks his friend for his "warrant for the purchase of Fawknor's fields," near Osterley.— "I would have waytid upon your honnor myself with these letters," says the same writer, in the following month of May, "but that I have here my cousin S^r Harry Nevell, and divers of my kynsfolk : but, God willing, upon Wednesday I will give my attendans upon you."^y The guest whom Gresham here mentions, was the husband of his favourite niece, and heir-apparent, Elizabeth,—only child of his elder brother, Sir John, who died in 1560. Lady Elizabeth Neville expired in London, 6th November, 1573,—at Gresham-House, as one of the Harleian MSS. informs us ; but her body was removed to her husband's house at Billingbere, and interred in the church of St. Lawrence, Waltham.^z

^{*} Oysterley, April 12, 1565.—Dom. Corr. St. P. Off.

^y Ibid. May 27, 1565.—Ibid. This is followed by a letter dated June 2d, explaining to Cecil that 'a gildern' was equal to 3s. 4d. : and another, dated June 13th, from London : "Thus taking my journey to Oysterly, whereas I would gladly see you," &c.—Ibid.

^z Harl. MS. No. 897, fol. 54.—See the Pedigree in vol. i.

In March and April, 1566, we have letters from Osterley again ; so that it seems to have been a favourite spring residence with its owner. After repeated inquiries, I have been unsuccessful in obtaining any drawing or representation of the house as it must have appeared in Gresham's time ; and am therefore unable to add any thing to the very meagre description with which Norden, who wrote in 1593, has supplied us.—He calls Osterley-House, “a faire and stately building of bricke :” and says of the extensive park, which is still abundantly supplied with wood and water, that it was formerly “garnished with manie faire ponds ; which afforded not only fish, and fowle, and swannes, and other water-fowle ; but also great use for milles, as paper milles, oyle milles, and corne milles.” There was also “a verie faire heronnie ; for the increase and preservation whereof, sundrie allurements were devised and set up.”

These mills, of which a few slight traces are yet discoverable, were erected in Osterley-park as early as 1565, or even earlier : for the poet Churchyard, who was patronised by Gresham, says, that *before* erecting the Royal Exchange, he “with some charge a paper-mill began.” The passage is as follows :

“Glass was at first as straunge to make or vewe
 As paper now, that is devisde of newe .
 Of newe I meane in England ; save one man,
 That hath greate wealthe, and might much treasure spare,
 Who with some charge a paper-mill began ;
 And after, built a stately work most rare,—
 The Royal Exchange.” *

About this time, in fact, Sir Thomas Gresham seems to have become much attached to Osterley; for we find him, in 1567, a suitor “for the purchasing of Heston, [the manor wherein Osterley stands,] with divers other quilletts.” This he declared was ‘more for quietness sake, and to be Lorde of the soyles, than for anny profit he should attayne therbie; for that the most part was quit rent, and all the rest out by lease for long time:’ and a few months after, he begged Cecil ‘to have his poore sewte in remembrance to the Queene’s Majestie for the purchasing of Heston, and other lands that lay there, mete for the provision of his howse, and quietnes.’ How much difficulty he experienced in obtaining his suit, the following letter, addressed to the Earl of Leicester ten months after, will show: the manor of Heston did not become his property till May 1570.

* “A Description and Discourse of Paper, and the Benefits that it brings; with the setting forth of a Paper-mill, built near Dardthford by a High German called Mr. Spilman, Jeweller to the Queen.” London, 4to. printed in 1588, but evidently written at least ten years earlier. Sign. D 2.

“ Right honorable, and mie verie singuler good Lorde. It maie like youe to understande that as this daye, Mr. Secretary gave me to understande that he hathe of late moved the Queene’s Majestie ageine for my sewte ; and that her highnes dothe make some staye, bie the reason she is informed that I have purchased great matters aboute my house. Assuring your Lordship, all that I have purchased there is not above one hundrethe marcks by yere ; and *that* I desire of her Majestie to have bie purchase or bie waie of gifte, is but likewise one hundrethe markes by yere. Trusting, throughe your good Lordship’s meanes, her Majestie now will have some consideration of my service done this x years ; as Kinge Edward and Queen Marie had ; who gave iii c *li*. [300*l*.] land for my service, having not served them two yeres a-pece,—as your Lordship dothe right well knowe. Being right assured that her Majestie shall finde I have donne her highnes service of greater importance than I did, all mannor of wais, to them bothe. And as I will never crave more of her highnes but bie your meanes, so now I moste humblie desire you, of all loves and frendships betwixt youe and me, to joyne with Mr. Secretary ; so that I maie have an end of my said sewte one waie or other, if it be possible.—Thus, withe my

humble commendations to my Lord of Penbrooke, the Lord preserve you with increse of honor.—From London, the xth of November, anno 1568.

At your Lordship's commandment,

THOMAS GRESHAM." ^b

"To the right honorable, my verie singular good Lord th' Erle of Leicestor : one of the Queene's Majestie's most honorable privy counsell."

Having thus given the history of Gresham's connexion with Osterley as far as we are able, and brought our narrative down to the period which we had reached ere making this digression, it only remains to notice Queen Elizabeth's well-known visit hither in 1576,—at which time it would appear, from Norden's narrative, that Osterley-House was within a year of being completed. With what splendour its wealthy owner entertained a royal personage from whom he had publicly received so many flattering marks of distinction through a long series of years, must be left to the reader's imagination. All we know for certain is, that one of the entertainments with which he sought to render her stay agreeable, was a play by his old friend Thomas Churchyard, and

^b From the original, in the MS. library of my kind friend, Dawson Turner, Esq.

a pageant, of which unfortunately nothing but the name, preserved by himself, remains to us. In enumerating his productions, he mentions "The Devises of Warre, and a play at Awsterley; her highness being at Sir Thomas Gresham's." * One regrets the loss of this piece, which most probably shared the fate of that "infinite number of songs and sonets" of which the author speaks; "given where they cannot be recovered, nor purchase any favour when they are craved."

Fuller relates a pleasant story about the gallantry of the host on this occasion. "Her majesty," says he, "found fault with the court of the house, as too great; affirming 'that it would appear more handsome, if divided with a wall in the middle.' What doth Sir Thomas, but in the night-time send for workmen to London, (*money commands all things*,) who so speedily and silently apply their business, that the next morning discovered that court double, which the night had left single before. It is questionable whether the queen next day was more contented with the conformity to her fancy, or more pleased with the surprise and sudden performance thereof: whilst her courtiers disported themselves with their several expressions; some avowing it was no won-

* In a miscellany, called "The Challenge;" 1593, 4to. b. l. Sign. * *

der he could so soon *change a building*, who could *build a 'change*; others (reflecting on some known differences in this knight's family) affirmed, that any house is easier *divided* than united." ^d This quaint anecdote is given in the writer's own words, because it is one of that complexion which it is not safe to paraphrase.—From certain minutes in the Privy-council books of the period, it is to be inferred that the royal visit occurred in the month of May; since, on the 22d of that month, four miscreants were "comitted to the Marshalsea for burning of Sir Thomas Gresham's park-pale, at Osterley, at the time the queen was there; wherewith her highness was very much offended, and commanded that the offenders should be searched out and punished." Gresham's enclosure of the park surrounding Osterley-House was a very unpopular act; and probably led to the outrage in question, which made a great noise at the time.^e—No further particulars, traditional or otherwise, have been transmitted to us of the queen's visit to Osterley in 1576: in less than twenty years after which, Norden describes the mills as "all decayed, (a corne-mille excepted,)"

^d Worthies, &c. vol. ii. p. 35.

^e MS. in Council-Office, pp. 18 and 45. At p. 51, (19th July, 1576,) it is recorded that complaints were laid against Gresham by sundry poor men, for having enclosed certain common ground.

and the “ faire heronrie ” had already “ fallen all to ruine.”^f

One of Gresham's latest acts was, to receive and entertain a noble foreigner,—Casimir, Prince Palatine of the Rhine; the occasion of whose journey into England was connected with the progress of events in that country, with which, from the first, we have seen that Gresham was so intimately connected. Abandoning that scrupulous fear of giving offence which had characterized the more cautious measures of the early part of her reign, Queen Elizabeth had furnished the prince with men and arms: which, towards the close of 1578, he was accused of employing in a manner little conducive to the welfare of that party in Flanders, whose interests it was well known that the queen and her ministers had at heart. Davison, the English envoy at Brussels, roundly charged the prince with this accusation; who as promptly proceeded to London to justify himself.—Stowe relates that ‘on the 22nd of January, 1578–9, about seven o'clock in the evening, John Cassimir, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Bavare,’ was received on landing at the Tower by a party of noblemen and others, who were assembled to do him honour. They conducted the stranger by the light of cressets and torches to Gres-

^f *Speculum Britanniae*, 4to. 1593, p. 37.

ham-House in Bishopsgate-street, where Sir Thomas welcomed him with music; or, as the chronicler expresses it, 'with sounding of trumpets, drums, fifes, and other instruments:' and there he was lodged and feasted for three days. On Sunday, the nobility carried him to Westminster, where he saw and conversed with the queen: after which, lodgings were assigned to him in Somerset-House.[†] So many honours were lavished on him during his three weeks' sojourn at the English court, that the enumeration of the gaieties of a single day would render superfluous the statement that his vindication of his conduct was admitted.

From the circumstance of his having been conducted on his first arrival in this country to Sir Thomas Gresham's, the high reputation which the old knight enjoyed, as well for courtesy of manners as for splendour in his household, may be reasonably inferred. In truth, his great experience; his long and familiar intercourse with men of all grades and professions, from princes and nobles,—with whom, as has been shown, he was on as intimate a footing as the impassable barrier of rank will permit,—to the lowliest of his own dependants; the knowledge of men and manners which he must have derived from foreign

[†] Stowe's Chronicle, p. 684; and see Lodge's Illustrations, vol. ii. p. 204.

travel; and his acquaintance with all the languages of civilized Europe,—must have rendered him, towards the close of his life especially, as favourable a specimen as could have been selected of the English gentleman of that day. This is higher praise than to repeat what has been so often said of him,—that at the time of his death he was the wealthiest commoner in England.

Our story is now well nigh ended; for, as far as the documents within our reach would permit, Sir Thomas Gresham has now been conducted from the season of early youth to that of declining age. But here we would pause for a few moments. In the earlier stages of his biography, brief sketches were occasionally introduced of the characters with whom he became incidentally connected: and now that his career is drawing to a close, and we once more behold him domesticated in Bishopsgate-street, I would fain have the reader's permission to introduce to his notice, in the briefest manner possible, a few of Gresham's friends and neighbours; and especially such of his contemporaries as had grown old with him, and in whose society he must be presumed to have habitually passed his leisure hours.—Attracted by the munificence of one whom they were eager to secure as a patron, and actuated by a natural desire to dwell in the neighbourhood of a powerful

merchant whom they had reason to believe was well disposed towards their nation, a number of Flemings, ever since the breaking out of the troubles, had colonized the neighbourhood of Gresham-House. But this populous parish was by no means the resort of the “merchant-stranger” alone : could we evoke from the dust of St. Helen’s all the shapes which of old gave animation to its precincts, amid the host which would surround us we should recognise not a few of the worthies whose names lend a lustre to the page of history, or shine like stars in the domestic annals of the metropolis.

One of the foremost among the inhabitants of St. Helen’s parish in old times was Sir William Holles, some time lord mayor of London, ancestor of the Dukes of Newcastle. But he was infinitely surpassed in magnificence and celebrity by his executor Antonio Bonvisi, who in 1523 bought Crosby-place of Sir Thomas More, the lord chancellor, (its former occupant,) and for many years resided in that beautiful mansion. The Bonvisi family, from which many cardinals and other distinguished personages had proceeded, were in fact very famous in England during the former half of the sixteenth century ; and seem to have been friends of the Gresham family, with whom they were at different periods associated in public

business. Antonio Bonvisi, however, far excelled his relatives, both in personal endowments and fortuitous advantages. This celebrated merchant of Lucca came over to England, says Stowe, about the year 1505, "and taught English people to spin with a distaff: at which time," he adds, "began the making of Devonshire kersies and corall clothes."—Bonvisi will be remembered with interest for the extraordinary affection borne him by Sir Thomas More. The latter, during his confinement in the Tower, a short time previous to his execution, being deprived of the use of the ordinary implements for writing, made shift with a coal to unburthen his heart to Bonvisi, and sent him a Latin epistle full of tender eloquence. It begins thus affectionately: "*Amicorum amicissime, et merito mihi charissime, salve! Quoniam mihi presagit animus, (fortasse falso, sed presagit tamen,) haud diu mihi superfuturam ad te scribendi facultatem,—decevi, dum licet, hoc saltem epistolio significare, quantum in hoc fortunæ meæ deliquio, amicitiae tuæ jucunditate reficiar.*" It must have been no common person to whom Sir Thomas More could thus write.

William Rastall, apparently his nephew, and William Roper, the husband of his daughter Margaret and his biographer, also resided at Crosby-place. . . . They were succeeded by Jermyn Ciol

or Cyoll, of whom mention has already been made; and his wife Cicely, daughter of Sir John, and cousin of Sir Thomas Gresham. Of this couple, Crosby-place was purchased by Alderman William Bond in 1566,—Ciol, as the reader will remember, having “fallen in decaye” in that year, “only by losse of sea, and bankrowts.” This same Bond was the individual who received there into his custody Dassonleville, the Duke of Alva’s envoy, in the year 1569: and it is further recorded of him in the acts of the Privy-council, that “for his contemptuous behaviour in traphicking to Narva, contrary to a commandement gevin him by the boarde, by the Queene’s order he was [on the 7th of November, 1564,] comitted to the Flete:”^h where he was kept in close confinement for a week.—William Bond made Crosby-place his residence until the time of his death, which occurred in 1576. He was a great friend of Sir Thomas Gresham, whose tomb is overlooked by the quaint mural monument wherein Bond, with his wife and children, are represented. His praises are recorded in lofty language in some Latin verses, which form part of his epitaph, wherein he is styled “flos mercatorum,” and mentioned as “a marchant-adventurer moste famous in his age for his greate adventures bothe by sea and land.”—Sir Thomas Gresham, who

^h MS. in Council Office, *sub anno*.

was one of the witnesses to Bond's will in 1574 and 6, must have been equally well acquainted with his son, "that worthy citizen and soldier, Martin Bond, Esq.;" who was "captaine in the yeare 1588 at the campe of Tilbury, and after remained cheief captaine of the trained bandes of this citty until his death." Accordingly, in the very interesting monument erected to his memory in St. Helen's church, he is represented sitting in a pensive posture in his tent, surrounded by soldiers. He died in May 1643, aged 85 years; and his epitaph adds,—“His piety, prudence, courage, and charity have left behind him a never dycing monument.”

One of the earliest of Gresham's contemporaries of note who resided in St. Helen's parish, was Sir Andrew Judde,—a collateral descendant of the celebrated Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury. He had been in his day mayor of the staple, as well as lord mayor of London, and had kept his mayoralty in the same “fair house, west of Gresham-college, which Sir William Hollis had inhabited.” He was a merchant-adventurer of considerable note, and had travelled into Russia and Spain, and even visited Africa; so at least it is stated on his epitaph; and since it is there added “without fable,” we are bound to credit the assertion. He was for many years

associated with the Gresham family in the service of the state, and employed as a financial agent; in which capacity his name frequently occurs in the council-book of Henry the Eighth and his successor. But the crowning action of his life was the erection and endowment of the free grammar-school at Tunbridge, his native town, in 1553.¹ This benevolent citizen died in the month of September 1558, and was buried in St. Helen's church. His curious little mural monument, which can be distinguished in the vignette to the present chapter, is only a few paces from the tomb of Sir Thomas Gresham; and bears an inscription, remarkable for being one of the most wretched specimens of metrical composition in the language. One wonders who could have been found capable of producing so lame an epitaph. Judde left a daughter Alice, who became his heiress, and married Thomas Smythe, of Westenhanger, in Kent, Esq., farmer of the customs of London under the queens Mary and Elizabeth, and thence commonly called "Customer Smythe." He was an ancestor of the Viscounts Strangford.

But a far more interesting character than any of these was the distinguished statesman, Sir William Pickering; who, in Queen Mary's days, had waited on King Philip at Brussels, (on his way to

¹ Noodes, quire lvijj.—Judde also endowed an almshouse in Great St. Helen's for six poor persons.

Germany,) when Gresham was serving the queen at Antwerp. They had there frequently met; and Pickering, who seems to have suffered severely from the climate of Flanders, repeatedly obtained notice in Gresham's letters, as the reader may remember. His epitaph gives a brief summary of his merits. He was perfect master of six languages, and had served four monarchs in succession with great honour and credit:—Henry the Eighth in the field; Edward the Sixth as ambassador into France; Queen Mary in Germany; and Elizabeth in the cabinet. But towards the close of his life he retired from these cares, and became Gresham's near neighbour, residing with his only daughter Hester at Pickering-House, which had been tenanted by his father before him, in the parish of St. Andrew Undershaft, immediately adjoining St. Helen's. A letter is extant written by him to Lord Burghley on the 23rd of December, 1574, 'from his wearye bed.' He drew up his will a week after, (December 31st,) and survived that act only four days. He-neage, one of his executors, who was with him at the time of his death, on the same day sent Lord Burghley "word of the departure of the worthy gentylman S' William Pikeryng, that so moche loved your Lordship, and had so great an opynion of your honorable regard of hym."^j

^j Lansd. MS. No. xix. artt. 46 and 75.

A single passage in his will, seems to introduce us at once to the old knight ; whom we can picture in his armoury, or sitting with his daughter Hester in his study, surrounded by his books. "I bequeath to my Lord Treasurer [Lord Burghley, whom he elsewhere calls 'my good friend and ould acquaintance,'] my horse called Bawle Price,^k with my gilte steele Damaskine saddell, and the whole furniture and caparison belonging to the same. Also, all my papers of antiquities that are pasted together of the monuments of Rome, and other places, as appeareth better by a paperbooke of the same. And also a celestiall globe, with the furniture ; and one globe of mettell, unfynished : a case of my best compases, and sesers ; bridge, and any other such instrument as shall beste please his Lordship to like of. Also I give and bequeathe to my well-beloved gossip, Thomas Heneage, Esquire, my table of markettrie that standeth in my studie, with the desk belonging to the same. I will that my daughter Heaster, touching her education and bringing up, be onlie at the appointment of my executors ; and that until the daie of her maryage, she remaine,

^k So Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, dying in the same year, among many curious legacies, (as the portrait of Abp. Warham, and that of Erasmus, which he leaves to his successors,) mentions, "*Equum meum album, vocatum Hackington.*"—Pykering, quire xxxix.

and her education be, in the house or custody of my greate assured friend Mr. Thomas Wotton, one of my executors. I will that neither my Armory nor my Liberarye be spoiled nor dispersed, otherwise than that I have appointed certaine speciall legacies : but that both the same shall remaine whole and safe, to such one as shall match in marriage with the said Heaster.”¹ That young lady became the wife of Sir Edward Wotton,—eldest son of the gentleman to whom her education had been entrusted ; so that Sir William Pickering’s books and papers formed part of the library at Boughton-Malherb, in Kent, till its dispersion in 1630 : Thomas, Lord Wotton, (only son of Sir Edward and Hester his wife,) who died in that year, having left four daughters, co-heiresses ; among whom his hereditary property was probably divided.

Sir William Pickering was accounted a remarkably handsome man ; and presuming on this qualification, he is even said to have aspired to the hand of Queen Elizabeth herself. In the moment of sinking nature, when he drew up his last will, a sense of the goodly personage he had been did not forsake him ; but betrayed itself in the concern he testified for the fate of his body. “I will the manner of my burialls and

¹ Prerogative Office.—Pykering, quire i.

funerals to be as of a Christian, *whose carcas is not to be cownted cast awaie to destruction ; but laid up in store for resurrection,* in a tombe to be made and erected for that purpose, to be garnished and decked with the armes [and] coats of me and my auncestors." This injunction was faithfully complied with by his executors, who caused a beautiful monument to be erected to his memory in St. Helen's church ; and in pursuance of a filial wish expressed by the testator, the body of his father, Sir William Pickering the elder, who had been buried in 1542, was disinterred, and deposited in the same tomb with himself. Pickering reposes in knightly guise beneath a gorgeous canopy,—as represented in the vignette prefixed to the present chapter,—within a few feet of Sir Thomas Gresham.^m

After so remarkable and interesting a character, the names of many of Sir Thomas Gresham's contemporaries and neighbours seem scarcely to deserve commemoration ; yet we must crave leave to introduce in this place a few more worthies of the olden time, who are known to have been "men of figure and fashion" in St. Helen's and that neighbourhood in his day : and first, Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, the lord high-chamberlain, must be mentioned ; who

^m He directed his executors,—‘John Astleye, Thomas Henneage, Thomas Wutton, and Drewe Drury,’—to expend on his monument about 200 marks.

lived in a house which belonged to Sir Thomas Gresham in the adjoining parish of St. Peter-the-Poor. How greatly this young nobleman displeased Queen Elizabeth by wanting to take part in the French troubles in 1569, and how he charmed her by his skill in dancing four years after,—it is scarcely necessary to explain; but room must be found for the shocking story of his friendship for the first Roman Catholic nobleman of his country. When Thomas Duke of Norfolk was under sentence of death, in 1572, the young Earl of Oxford, who was devotedly attached to him, implored Burghley to obtain his pardon. The petitioner was his son-in-law, for he had married Lord Burghley's daughter Anne, (the 'little Tannikin' of Sir Philip Hoby's letter, given in the former volume); but he asked a favour which Burghley would not or could not grant; and it is said that the earl behaved so cruelly to his countess in consequence, that the unfortunate lady died."

While these sheets have been passing through the press, Winchester-House has been demolished,—an ancient mansion in Winchester-street,* which for many years had been used as a packer's warehouse, and which it was impossible to con-

* Lodge's Illustrations, vol. ii. p. 100.—*Dépêches de la Mothe*, vol. i. pp. 198 and 269.

• A view of it may be seen in *Gent. Mag.* for April 1839.

template without interest and pleasure ; those venerable brick walls, those massive Elizabethan windows, and that lowly portal recalled so forcibly the olden time, and contrasted so mournfully with the loftier yet meaner buildings of more modern erection by which it was surrounded. It stood somewhat in the rear of Gresham's house ; and in his time was known by the name of Shrewsbury-House or Shrewsbury-Place, from the Talbots Earls of Shrewsbury, who resided there. Their lives and letters have been so ably illustrated, that it is only necessary to mention their name to suggest some obvious inferences in favour of the neighbourhood where their dwelling was situated.

Another of Gresham's friends and neighbours was Sir John Pollard, of Trelawney, in Cornwall ; descended from an ancient and celebrated Devonshire family, and himself a gallant soldier and a brave seaman. Mention of his name frequently recurs, and always creditably, among contemporary papers. He served at the siege of St. Quentin's in 1557, and in 1568 was president of the province of Munster in Ireland. The only other circumstance related concerning him is, that "some controversy having grown between him and Sir Peter Carew," (another Devonshire knight,) in 1567, an injunction was issued by the Privy-council, ordering them to keep the peace.

He died in 1575, and was buried in St. Helen's church, on the 4th of December; his widow continuing to reside in the same parish until the year 1585.^p

Another interesting family resident in St. Helen's parish contemporaneously with Sir Thomas Gresham, was that of Adelmare or Cæsar; a family which has had the good fortune to engage the attention of perhaps the most elegant of modern writers,—the late Mr. Lodge. The first of this family who settled in England was Doctor Cæsar, who resided in “the neat house and gardens, late part of the dissolved priory of St. Helen's, situated within the close of the said priory.” He died ten years before Sir Thomas Gresham, and was succeeded by his son, the celebrated Sir Julius Cæsar; who sold the estate in St. Helen's parish, in 1581. The *roses* which the latter bore in his arms were fit emblems, Fuller says, of the fragrant memory which he left behind him.^q

^p Pole's Worthies of Devon.—Churchyard's Lamentable, &c. 1578, p. 15.—Dom. Corr. St. P. Off.—MS. in Council-Office: and parish-register of St. Helen's.

^q In Queen Mary's council-book it is recorded, that Doctor Cæsar was paid 100*l.* on a certain occasion for his attendance. The reward was enormous; and reminds us that, formerly, medical men, however inferior in point of skill, were even more liberally remunerated for their professional services than their brethren at the present day. Their fee of 6*s.* 8*d.* was equal to nearly 3*l.* of our money.

But space cannot be afforded for distinct notices of the several personages who illustrated St. Helen's parish at the close of the sixteenth century: a bare catalogue must suffice of the names of Sir William Willoughby, and Dame Helen his wife; of Sir Anthony Coxe, who married the Lady Anne Le Strange; of Sir Robert Bosville and Sir George Snelling; of Sir Henry Rowe (son of that Sir Thomas of whom mention was made elsewhere,) and his lady; and last, though certainly not least in importance, of Sir John and Dame Alice Spencer,—ancestors of the present Marquis of Northampton. “Master Capten Furbissher” [Frobisher] seems also to have resided in the same neighbourhood. To this brilliant catalogue must be added the interesting name of Thomas Morley, the celebrated musician and writer of madrigals; who, as the parish-register informs us, resided with his family in St. Helen's: and often must Crosby-Hall have echoed his sweet strains! He dedicated his *Plain and easie Introduction to practicall Musicke* “to the most excellent musician, Maister William Birde, one of the gentlemen of her Majesty's Chappell,” who seems to have been his instructor in the science; and to whom he professed himself “in all love and affection most addicted.” What is remarkable, William Bird

was also an inhabitant of the same parish ; and it is well known that Wilbye, the composer, lived hard by. These facts harmonize well with Gresham's endowed lectureship for the promotion of the divine art which Morley, Bird, and Wilbye cultivated with so much success ; and one is pleased to discover that St. Helen's church was provided at an early period with an organ ; for the inference is obviously in favour of the taste and refinement of the parishioners. It also possessed that rare luxury—a clock ; and on keeping these two accessories in order, (which seems to have been no easy matter,) much money was periodically expended.—“ Father Howe's fee for the organes for a hole yere,” was 2*s.* : and Austen's, “ for keepinge of the clocke,” 5*s.*

These quotations are obtained from a curious folio volume of churchwardens' accounts, preserved at St. Helen's, commencing as early as 1565. The entries are numerous, and in many cases of considerable local interest ; but the reader would not care to know what was paid for ringing the knells of the several eminent persons buried in the church ; and the notices of Gresham are few. His yearly contribution towards the maintenance of the lecturer was 40*s.*—a far greater sum than was subscribed by any other parishioner : and in 1576, 6*s.* 8*d.* is mentioned as having been re-

ceived of him “for his licence to eate fleshe ; and put into the poore mens box, according to the statute.”—It is perhaps not worth while to allude further to the venerable folio in question ; except it be to state that the names of Ciole, Bond, Pickering, Pollard, Cæsar, Read, and Spencer are of perpetual recurrence throughout its pages.^r

The same register which mentions “Thomas Morley, *musition*,” also records the existence of the family of “Paul Vander Velde, *Dutch picture-maker* ;” and supplies us with full particulars concerning the progeny of Richard Taylor, Peter Turner, and Edward Jurden, “doctors in physick,” who were doubtless very necessary personages in so populous and wealthy a neighbourhood as that of St. Helen’s. But enough has been said on this subject : the catalogue might be swelled out to any extent ; and a sufficient number of names has been cited to show in what kind of society Gresham passed his latter years.

If, to enjoy the favour of one’s sovereign, to possess the respect and gratitude of one’s fellow-citizens, and to live in the affections of one’s poorer neighbours, can produce happiness,—then

^r For access to this interesting volume, the writer is indebted to the courtesy of the Rev. C. Mackenzie and the churchwardens of St. Helen’s parish. The former gentleman has also the writer’s best thanks for the facilities kindly granted him in consulting the registers.

was Sir Thomas Gresham, at this period of his life, a happy man. No allusion need be made to his immense possessions,—the common boast of those who have written concerning him. It has been feelingly observed by a more thoughtful pen,* that the master of many houses has no home; and in surveying any one of his mansions, the want of children must have perpetually awakened in Gresham's breast the melancholy reflection of the venerable Cosmo: "*Questa è troppo gran casa à si poca famiglia!*"—Very few indeed were the inmates of his house in London; whereof the apartments were found capable of accommodating some of the most considerable city-offices on the occasion of the great fire. With the exception of an occasional guest, Gresham-House was inhabited only by Sir Thomas and the Lady Gresham; by Gresham's cousin Nowell; and a large retinue of servants: or, if it contained any other inmates, they were probably the Reads,—children and grandchildren of Lady Gresham by her former husband; some of whom were interred in the same vault with Sir Thomas, and whose names occur in the parish-register of St. Helen's for upwards of thirty years after his death. Gresham must have derived a secret delight however from reflecting, that, when he should be no more, his house would be the

* See the Notes to Rogers' Epistle to a Friend.

seat of learning; and that his name would be deservedly dear to the enlightened of all future ages. But we are getting upon uncertain ground, with nothing but probabilities to guide us. Fancy may be only further allowed to suggest, that the walls of Gresham-House[†] must have glowed with many a rare specimen of that school of painting with which its owner was most familiar; for it seems scarcely possible that one so wealthy, who had been accustomed from his boyhood to reside among artists and the arts, should have failed to possess himself of what was no less beautiful than easy to be procured.

At one time, Gresham's very limited family circle had been increased by the addition of a son and a daughter. The son, Richard, died in 1564, as was mentioned in the proper place, shortly before he attained to manhood: the daughter lived; but she was not related to the Lady Gresham, though she bore her name. Anne Gresham was a natural daughter, whose mother is said to have been a native of Bruges; but as nothing more is known with certainty concerning her birth, the circumstance must be left in the same obscurity in which we find it.[‡] To-

[†] From an inventory taken after Gresham's decease, the furniture of this mansion amounted in value to 1120*l*.

[‡] Gresham was married in 1544: Sir Nathaniel Bacon was born in 1546. It is *probable* that he was some years older than

wards his daughter, Gresham made the only reparation in his power, by bestowing upon her all the advantages of a careful education, and an ample dower. She married into a family of high distinction, for she called the great Lord Bacon—brother-in-law. Her husband was Sir Nathaniel Bacon, second son of Sir Nicholas, the lord keeper, by his first wife, Jane, daughter of William Fernely, Esq., of West-Creting in the county of Suffolk. Sir Thomas Gresham had married this lady's elder sister; so that his daughter Anne married one who *should* have been her cousin. This knight, (who has been not unfrequently confounded with his namesake, the painter,^u) lies buried in the church of Stiffkey, in Norfolk, together with his two wives.^x So at least it is stated in his epitaph; but the parish-register does not mention Lady Anne's interment.^y She was probably dead before 1575,—the date of her father's will, since it is silent respecting her.

Sir Thomas Gresham was not destined long to enjoy the repose which age brings with it, and to which a life of energy and action had well entitled his wife, Gresham's natural daughter; and it therefore would follow that she was born before her father's marriage.

^u See Gent. Mag. vol. xcvi. i. p. 395.

^x Anne Gresham's property amounted to "the clere yeareley vallew" of 280*l.* 15*s.* Vide Stowe, ed. 1720, vol. ii. App. ii. p. 6.

^y Kindly communicated by the Rev. M. Ward, LL.B., rector of Stiffkey.

him. Holinshed has briefly recorded the circumstances of his decease, which appears to have been occasioned by a fit of apoplexy, as he returned from the afternoon meeting of the merchants on 'Change. "On Saturday, the 21st of November, 1579," says the chronicler, "betweene six and seven of the clocke in the evening, comming from the Exchange to his house (which he had sumptuouslie builded) in Bishopsgate-street, he suddenlie fell down in his kitchen; and being taken up, was found speechlesse, and presently dead."

Thus, at the age of sixty, after having served the state for nearly thirty years with unsullied honour and integrity, died Sir Thomas Gresham, —one of the most illustrious names of which the annals of our metropolis can boast. He found the credit of the crown in foreign parts reduced to the lowest ebb; but raised it by his prudent management, and left it higher than that of any other power: at the same time, by the skill with which he contrived to control the exchange with foreign countries, he may be considered to have laid the foundation of England's commercial greatness; thereby making the balance of trade preponderate in its favour: so that a late writer has not unaptly styled him 'the great patriarch of commerce and commercial finance.' He elevated the character of the English merchant, and was one

of the first to dignify the pursuits of trade, by showing that they are far from being incompatible with a taste for learning; and in the latest actions of his life, he in a manner restored to the state the fortune he had acquired in its service, by numberless acts of public munificence and private charity. He was a true patriot.

His remains were interred on the 15th December in the church of St. Helen's, beneath a tomb which he had constructed for himself during his life time;^{*} and his body was followed to the grave by two hundred poor men and women, clothed in black gowns, according to the directions given in his will. His funeral was conducted in a style of splendour rarely paralleled in the annals of private life. The expenses attending that ceremony are said to have amounted to no less than 800*l.*, being double the sum that was expended on the obsequies of one of the principal noblemen of that day.^{*}

The costly yet unambitious altar-shaped tomb

* "St. Helen's wants such a steeple as Sir Thomas Gresham promised to have built, in recompense of ground in this church filled up with his monument."—Newcourt's *Lond. Dioc.*, vol. i. p. 364. An old helmet, preserved in the vestry, is supposed to have formed a part of the funeral trophy which once decorated Gresham's tomb.

* The expenses attending the funeral of Francis Earl of Shrewsbury, (22nd September, 1560,) amounted to 406*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.*; as appears from a curious MS. which belonged to the late R. Heber, Esq. Sir John Thynne's funeral cost 320*l.* 8*s.* 3*d.*

of Sir Thomas Gresham, may be seen in the eastern corner of St. Helen's church, and will be recognised in the engraving prefixed to the present chapter. Until the year 1736 it bore no inscription,—“so great a name,” says Pennant, “needed not the proclamation of an epitaph.” It was, however, then judged advisable to inscribe the massive slab of black marble which covers the tomb with the following words derived from the parish register :

SR THOMAS GRESHAM KNIGHT
bury^d Decem^{br} the 15th 1579.

The rest of the monument is of alabaster, richly wrought, and sculptured on every side with the armorial bearings of Gresham; the escutcheons on the north-eastern and south-eastern sides impaling Fernely. Until a recent period the whole was protected by a delicate and tasteful rail of iron; but this had become so corroded and wasted by age, that it has of late been removed, and one more durable but less elegant, substituted. A large window, resplendent with the armorial bearings of Sir Thomas Gresham, the Mercers' Company, and the city of which he was once the living ornament, admits the light of heaven to the spot where he reposes, surrounded by the quaint records of his former friends and

neighbours : men memorable in their generations, and who, like him, have left more enduring traces of themselves than tombs of brass or stone.

. . . "When our souls shall leave this dwelling,
The glory of one fair and virtuous action
Is above all the 'scutcheons on our tomb,
Or silken banners over us!"

SHIRLEY.

The reader has by this time been made sufficiently well acquainted with Sir Thomas Gresham, through his actions and correspondence, to render any thing beyond a general summary of his character in this place unnecessary: and more than a general summary, it is not in our power to give; since no contemporary has supplied us with any of those graphic particulars which would have given individuality to the picture, and rendered it striking and interesting. He comes before us with some disadvantages, his official correspondence alone having been preserved; and his office,—that of a great financial officer,—being of a nature rather to repel, than to excite sympathy. Notwithstanding this, it may be fearlessly asserted that his letters prove him to have been an extraordinary man. Acute in counsel,—prompt in judgment,—and energetic in action; of unwearied activity both of mind and body; beloved in private life, and honoured in his public station,—he would have

been the hero of a story, had his spirit been more ambitious, or his conduct less correct.

To descend to particulars, Gresham seems to have had a singularly conciliating disposition. His negotiations with the foreign merchants were always successful, even in the most difficult times. He successively enjoyed the confidence of every minister ; was on terms of intimacy or of friendship with most of the leading noblemen of his time,—whether Papist or Protestant ; and from every sovereign under whom he served, received some marks of personal favour. These are evidences of character which there is no mistaking ; and which nothing could impair but a proof that, to maintain this advantage, he sometimes condescended to meanness or duplicity ; or on any occasion sacrificed his principles to protect his interest. There does not exist the shadow of a proof that he ever acted thus ; and since we find no evidence whatever tending to disprove that, from the commencement to the close of his career, Gresham was a consistent Protestant,—consistency in this particular being a grand touchstone of character with his contemporaries,—we make no scruple to admit the positive evidence of a contrary tendency which his letters and actions supply ; and believe that he was as sincere throughout, and as zealous as he declared himself to be.

It seems to be scarcely a matter of conjecture, that from his youth upwards Sir Thomas Gresham, in his conversation and conduct, gave indications of abilities of a high order, or he would not have attracted the notice of Northumberland while he was yet a young man ; nor have maintained through life the confidence and friendship of Sir William Cecil. Neither would Queen Elizabeth, who was in general sparing of her favours, have so repeatedly bestowed upon him marks of her approbation ; since he certainly was not of the number of those who, like Leicester and Hatton, owed their success to a handsome exterior, and to their personal accomplishments. The queen had indeed ample reason to be proud of her merchant ; for while, among the constellation of great names which adorn her annals, that of Sir Thomas shines with no common brilliancy as a patriot and encourager of learning, he was also mainly instrumental in upholding the dignity of her crown by his sagacious counsels and practical knowledge of business. Like a hidden spring, his influence on the financial mechanism of her policy can neither be readily detected, nor perhaps sufficiently appreciated by us ; but it could not fail to be well known to her : and who shall say how far the subsequent safety of this country is to be ascribed to his exertions ? or calculate the limits which are to be set to his influence over our national prosperity ?

His two celebrated foundations are, it is needless to remark, lasting monuments of his liberality and public spirit; and his humanity and benevolence are as conspicuous in the almshouses he endowed, and the hospitals he enriched. We are not surprised to find that he distributed large sums in private charity; but over such mild acts oblivion has drawn a veil, which it is useless to endeavour to withdraw. Let it be recorded to his honour, that on the score of probity his name is unsullied; and this is no slight praise for one who had both enemies and rivals to contend with, and who lived in an age when men did not scruple to express their opinions of one another.

It is a mark of good-nature, worthy of notice, that Gresham was ever ready to employ his influence with the great, in favour of his less fortunate relations, friends, and neighbours. When his Yorkshire tenants, in 1561, complained of ill usage, he begged Sir William Cecil to write in their behalf to the lord-president of the north: and in the same letter he says, "Whereas my cousin William Gresham was in eleccion to be shryve [sheriff] of the shire, this is instantly to desire you, if he be put in elecion again, that it may pleas you at my humble suit he may be spared for this year; because he is at no great fardell in his things as yet."^b Again, writing to Lord

^b Ant. 24 Aug. 1561.—Fland. Corr. St. P. Off.

Burghley in 1572, he says, "This is to desire you as to have Mr. Stringer's sute in remembrance. As also, this is most humblie to desire you as to extend your goodness unto Mr. Serjent Manwoode, that he maie be no judge at this time; considering there are sergeantes more auncient and of better welthe than he is: wherein your lordship shall do me a verie singular pleasure, and him no less, because yet his welthe doth not serve to accept anie such office upon him."° A few passages of a similar tendency have already elsewhere occurred; and if it were necessary, more might be adduced to prove that Gresham was of a benevolent disposition, and willing to protect and assist those who required his good offices.

He found time amidst all his occupations to think of literature, and to cherish literary men. Some few have already been mentioned as beholden to him; another author, Hugh Goughe, who about the year 1570 dedicated to him a little volume, entitled "The ofspring of the House of Ottomano," in the epistle dedicatory, alludes in a very interesting manner to this feature of his character. "I neade not to make rehearsal," says he, "of your curtesy, gentilnes, frendship, and liberalitie towards al men, yea and (which deserveth no small commendation) towards the unknownen, and strangers; as divers others, and I

° Gresham-House, 26 April, 1572.—Dom. Corr. St. P. Off.

also, of late dayes have sufficiently proved. In consideration whereof, lest I might seeme, eyther unmindfull of suche benefites, as undeservedlye I have received at your frendly handes, or be thought unthankfull, by not endeavoring (according to my pore habilities) partly to recompense your favourable gentilness declared towards me ; I counted it good to present your worshyppe with some suche treatice, as bothe myght declare me mindfull of your so unspeakable benefites, and wbye cleane away from you the opinion of detestable ingratitude, whiche otherwise your worshippe might most justly have conseyved of me."

Of the many books which Goughe says were dedicated to Sir Thomas Gresham, I have been able to meet with but one other. It is a little work translated from the German by Richard Rowlands, printed in London in 1576, and bearing the following title: "*The Post for divers parts of the World: to travaile from one notable Citie unto another, with a Description of the Antiquities of divers famous Cities in Europe. . . . Very necessary and profitable for Gentlemen, Merchants, Factors, or any other persons disposed to travaile.*"^d This work, which had been already translated into French and Italian, Rowlands was

^d "To the right worshipfull, Syr Thomas Greasham, knight, R. Rowlands wisheth continual encrease of renoumed worship and *Vertue*."

the first to render into English. "It resteth now," concludes the author, "that I therein most humbly crave your good worships furtheraunce, (as one of the most worthy, for your great experience and travailes into forreyne Realmes, in the Prince's waighty affairs, as it is not unknonne,) so that therby it might the better under your protection passe forth into the handes of many."

Rowlands has been generally considered as identical with Richard Verstégan,* the poet and antiquary;—a supposition which it would be agreeable to see confirmed, for Verstégan appears to have been a man of no common virtue and acquirements. His character leads me to remark, that if the disposition and tastes of an individual are indicated by those of his friends and companions, we have an agreeable testimony in favour of the subject of this memoir, in the characters of the individuals with whom his name has been intimately associated. From his entrance into life until the latest period of his existence, we find him uniformly connected with men of rank, talent, and virtue.

Of his acquirements it is difficult,—or rather it is impossible,—to speak with certainty. He probably knew something of the languages of antiquity: with those of modern Europe it can be

* The fact rests on contemporary authority. See Sir T. Herbert's *Travels*, p. 396. He is followed by Wood and others.

proved that he was familiar. His general information must have been as extensive as it was various; but though we hear that he patronised literature in others, it is nowhere recorded that he wrote any thing himself. He appears to have possessed learning just in that happy degree, which qualifies a man to enjoy the society of the learned and to appreciate their works, without unfitting him for the duties of his station, or rendering distasteful to him the less intellectual pursuits in which he is engaged;—a philosophical frame of mind, in the possession of which he must be regarded as eminently happy. Of his correspondence, which is scarcely a fair subject for criticism, it will probably be admitted that its chief characteristic is its general manliness and good sense; and those who are familiar with contemporary specimens of epistolary writing, will be ready to acknowledge that the phraseology of his letters, however obsolete and inelegant to a modern reader, will bear comparison with that of most of his contemporaries. Nor, if his business-style is found fault with, should it be forgotten to whom he wrote. Sir William Cecil more than once rebuked his correspondents for indulging in that pleasant gossip about persons and things, which constitutes the charm of letter-writing: so that, on a certain occasion we hear Sir Richard Mory-

sine declare in a letter to the secretary,—“I will do on more gravity, and *keep mirth where I have more need of it.*”^f

In his person, Gresham seems to have been above the middle height: handsome as a young man, and at a maturer period, in all probability, strongly resembling the portrait prefixed to these volumes. It has been already mentioned that he was lame. Gravity of deportment, and courtesy of manners, are hinted at by two old dramatists as having characterized him; and every means we possess of forming an opinion on the subject, leads to the belief that such was actually the case.

In point of merit, he must be confessed to come far, very far behind Lorenzo de Medici: but the Florentine and the Englishman are not without their points of resemblance. Each sprung from a family which owed its importance to the commercial pursuits in which its several members had been engaged, and each was himself a merchant; though on so extensive a scale, that while the one was called the “Royal Merchant,” the other obtained the epithet of *il Magnifico*. Each devoted his wealth to the encouragement of learning, or to purposes of charity; and it was the honest ambition of each, according to his ability, to advance the interests of his fellow-citizens, and to

^f See Tytler's *Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary*, vol. i. p. 344.

adorn his native city. Of Gresham it has been well remarked, that in founding a college—an Exchange—and an asylum for the poor, he showed himself solicitous to provide for the wants of youth, the convenience of manhood, and the necessities of age. Each lived beloved and respected, and each was cut off in the prime of his days.

But here the parallel between them ends. Italy was more than a century before England in literature and art, and Lorenzo flourished in the most palmy days of Italy. Destined to fill the highest offices of the state, and born in a land where it was the sublime privilege of wealth to be able to foster the genius of a Michael Angelo and a Raffaele, while he imbibed from his infancy a passion for the arts, he found himself at the same time possessed of the means of gratifying so laudable a passion. Gresham was the younger son of a private merchant, who enjoyed no privileges, and whose only honours were those of a well-spent life. He was the maker of his own fortunes, and died while the brightest wits of the Elizabethan age were yet in their cradles.

A portrait of Sir Thomas Gresham at the age of twenty-six, by Holbein, has been already described; and three others by Sir Antonio More have been fully noticed at the close of the third chapter. There are besides two portraits of

Gresham extant, both of which are ascribed to Holbein, but with very unequal pretensions to the honour of having proceeded from his hand. That which is best known belongs to the Mercers' Company, and has been repeatedly engraved. It is on panel; has suffered considerable injury from injudicious cleaning; and was probably the performance of some third or fourth rate Flemish artist. The other portrait of Gresham alluded to, is preserved at Osterley; and this may very well have been the work of the eminent painter to whom it is attributed by its noble owner. It represents a youthful personage with a long auburn beard, and a cheerful countenance; attired in a black doublet, cap, and cloak,^s which seems to have been Gresham's invariable costume.

The year 1579 was further rendered memorable in London by the death of two other eminent persons,—Sir Nicholas Bacon, the lord-keeper; and Sir Thomas Chaloner. The latter, as a statesman and a man of learning, is well

^s For his obliging communications on the subject of this picture, the Earl of Jersey has the writer's best thanks.—See further, Manning and Bray's *Surrey*, vol. iii. p. 443.—For an account of the engraved portraits of Gresham, see Granger, vol. i. p. 298-9.—The statue of Sir Thomas, over the south entrance of the (late) Royal Exchange, was the work of Bushnall the statuary; it will be contemplated with interest when it is remembered that Bushnall possessed the original statue, which had stood within the Exchange from 1622 to 1666, [Ward's

known : the former, who was related by marriage to Sir Thomas Gresham, bears a yet more distinguished name. Naunton, in mentioning him, lays particular stress on his unwieldy body,—a species of infirmity to which, in a certain letter to Queen Elizabeth, Bacon himself once made the following quaint allusion. “ My most gracious sovereign. I, with all humbleness crave pardon of your Majestie, that I presume by lettre to do that which bounden dewtie and service requireth to be done in person. Oh, good Mad-dam ! not want of a willing hart and mynd, but *an unhable and unwieldy body* is the onlie cause of this. And yet, the bodie, such as it is, every daie and howre is and ever shall be ready at your Majestie’s comandment : and so should they be, if I had a thousand as good as any man hath ; myne allegiance and a nombre of benefits hath so sundry times bound me.” This was written from Gorhambury, in 1577.

Lives, &c.] The statue near the north end of the western piazza, was executed by Edward Pierce. [Vertue’s Anecd. of Painting, 1826, ii. 315, but Pennant makes Gabriel Cibber its author.] There is, besides, in the temple of the British Worthies, at Stowe, a bust of Gresham, with the following inscription :

SIR THOMAS GRESHAM,
WHO, BY THE HONOURABLE PROFESSION OF A MERCHANT,
HAVING ENRICHED HIMSELF AND HIS COUNTRY,
FOR CARRYING ON THE COMMERCE OF THE WORLD
BUILT THE ROYAL EXCHANGE.

But it was not in England alone that the year of Gresham's death was rendered remarkable. The annals of Flemish history for that year, record an event of far more general interest and importance ;—viz. the establishment of that memorable union of the seven provinces, which placed the affairs of the Low Countries for the first time since the commencement of the troubles in 1566 on a solid basis. To trace all the intervening steps by which this consummation of the efforts of the Prince of Orange had been effected, would lead us too far ; and at this stage of our history be both unseasonable and unprofitable : but the narrative is full of interest and instruction ; mainly inculcating this great lesson,—that a people without a ruler can never hope for tranquillity ; but must be for ever torn by dissensions, and the conflicting interests of ambitious individuals. The troubles continued under every change of government, and at Ghent especially the most fatal discord prevailed ; partly in order to appease which, but principally with a view to cementing together his confederated fellow-countrymen by stronger ties than they hitherto acknowledged, the prince had the address, in the beginning of 1579, to bring about that memorable alliance between the seven northern provinces, known in history by the name of the Treaty of

Utrecht, which brought a cessation of the troubles, and first distinctly emancipated the Low Countries from the tyranny of Spain. This event Gresham lived to witness: and it is not a little remarkable, that he who had known the Low Countries in their glory, and watched them through every successive stage of misfortune, degradation, and decay, should have lived just long enough to behold the re-establishment of order within them, and something which wore the semblance of reviving prosperity, if it was not prosperity itself. Strada's history of the Low Country wars terminates with the year 1579, and the establishment of the states-general of the United Provinces.

The Lady Anne Gresham survived her husband many years;—living at Osterley^b in the summer, and passing the winter months at the mansion-house in Bishopsgate-street. So little is known

^b It was probably to grace Osterley-Park, that the Earl of Leicester made Gresham a present of several *red-deer*,—an animal of as great rarity in the sixteenth century, it seems, as in the nineteenth. The following passage in a letter from Gresham to his servant Thomas Cely, (18 February, 1577–8,) should have obtained insertion before, but was accidentally omitted. “Cely, . . . you shall paye to this bringer x *li.* for the . . . hipe [wardship ?] of xl red deer more, which my Lorde of Leaster hath geven me: being a present for any nobyllman in England, and not to be gotten for no gold nor silver; therefore dispatche uppon the sight hercof.”—Dom. Corr. St. P. Off.

respecting this lady, that it is scarcely fair to attempt to form an estimate of her character : I will content myself, therefore, with mentioning all that may be considered characteristic, and leave the reader to draw his own inferences.

It is perhaps not unworthy of remark, that Sir Thomas always mentions her with fondness, and never without an epithet,—“my poore wife.” He appointed his “faithfull lovinge wife, Dame Anne Gresham,” sole executor of his will ; adding, “I doe wholly put my trust in her ; and have noe doubt, but she will accomlishe the same accordingly, and all other thinges, as shalbe requisite or expedient for both our honesties, fames, and good reportes in this transitory world, and to the profite of the commen weale and relief of the careful and true poore, accordinge to the pleasure and will of Almighty God.”

It was a natural filial feeling, and is perhaps scarcely entitled to further notice, that she should have expressed her anxiety, in 1570, to visit her mother,—the aged widow of four-score and ten : yet, when materials are so scant, and our opportunities even for drawing an inference so few, on such slender hints as these must we be content to hang the web of biography. . Again, she was sister to the lady whom Sir Nicholas Bacon chose for his wife ; and this circumstance alone, did we

know nothing else about her, would have been enough to induce a presumption that her mental endowments were above the common order : at all events, that they were respectable. The speed with which in her youth she was persuaded by Gresham to forsake her widowhood, if it does not prove that she was beautiful, does not at least militate against the supposition that the usual portion of female charms fell to her share : but here we must be content to leave these (perhaps not very important) questions ; for of Lady Gresham there remains neither a portrait, nor a letter.

Finally, it must be recorded to her praise, that on the threatened invasion by the Spanish armada in 1588, she subscribed 100*l.* toward the defence of the country ; equivalent in those days to seven or eight times that sum at present. On the other hand, it seems little indicative of liberality of disposition, that twice after her husband's death, she attempted to derive unreasonable advantages from the property entrusted to her during her life-time. The particulars of these transactions may be found in Stowe. It is not agreeable to transcribe them ; nor is it necessary, since her intentions were frustrated, and her husband's will confirmed by a private act of parliament passed for that purpose. What renders this proceeding inexcusable, is the large fortune

she enjoyed ; for her husband left her a clear annual income of 2,388*l.* 10*s.* 6½*d.*,ⁱ—ample at any period, but in the sixteenth century enormous for a private individual. Her former husband's property, conjointly with her own, produced, as we have seen, a yearly rental of but 138*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.*,—and *he* was accounted rich.

Lady Gresham died at Osterley-House, at a great age, on the 23rd of November, 1596 ; having survived her husband exactly seventeen years. Her remains were conveyed to London, and interred in St. Helen's church, in the same vault with Sir Thomas, on the 14th of December following. We have an indistinct glimpse of the heraldic pomp which attended this ceremonial in the following entry respecting "The funerall of Dame [Anne] Gresham, wife to Sir Thomas Gresham, knight ; who was buryed the 15th [*sic*] of December, 1596, at the parish church of St. Ellen's, London. The officers serving ther, wer Clarencieulx and Rougecroix, pursuivants at armes ; who received for ther fees, fourtye pounds."^k Such is Rougecroix's memo-

ⁱ For the full particulars, see Stowe's Survey, ed. 1720, vol. ii. App. ii. p. 5 ; and the Appendix to Ward's Lives, (No. IV.) as corrected in the author's copy, now in the British Museum.

^k Harl. MS. No. 6033. fol. 52 b.—In the old book of churchwardens' accounts quoted at p. 466, we find under 1596,—“Received for the ground and knell of the Lady Anne Gresham, 5*l.*”

randum, and it may not be improper to add, that the heralds received the same fee when they attended the funeral of Queen Elizabeth.

Sir Thomas Gresham's widow survived, and was survived by, many members of her own family by her former husband. Her son, Sir William Read, attained to a great age; being certainly upwards of eighty-three years old before his death: but her grandson, Sir Thomas Read, who married Mildred, second daughter of our old friend Thomas Cecil, Earl of Exeter, died at Osterley without issue, on the 3rd of July, 1595, and was buried on the 14th of the same month in Sir Thomas Gresham's vault. "The Lady Gertruda Reade, wife of Sir William Reade, knt. died on Thursday, being the xxiiijth day of October, 1605; and was buryed in Sir Thomas Gresham's vault, vppon the leaden coffyn, vppon Tuesday, being the iiijth day of December, 1605."¹

Sir Thomas Gresham's will is, on the whole, a less interesting document than might have been expected. Besides providing for the management of his estates, it contains little more than an enumeration of legacies,^m with which it is needless to

¹ From a curious MS. volume belonging to St. Helen's parish, containing rough drafts of entries for the register.

^m They were as follows: 40*l.* to each of his four apprentices,—William Gilbert, Philip Celye, John Smyth, and Philip Gilmor. To his servant John Young, 20*l.*, and 10*l.* per annum, 'as long

encumber the text. It deserves to be mentioned, however, that towards the relief of poor persons and prisoners in Newgate, Ludgate, the King's Bench, the Marshalsea, and Wood-street Compter, he left the sum of 50*l.* annually,—that is, 10*l.* to each of the said prisons : a gift to which seven or eight times the same amount at the present day would be barely equivalent. Gresham made a precisely similar disposition of property in favour of Christ-church Hospital, (known before as the Grey Friars,) St. Bartholomew's Hospital, 'the spittle of Bedlem nere Bishopsgate Streete, the Hospitall of the poore in Southwark,' (St. Thomas's,) and the Poultry Compter : the care

as he doth tarry with my wife : half that sum Gresham bequeathed on the same terms to Guillian, his horse-keeper, and Gilles, his servant : to his steward, John Lawrence, 20*l.*, and to each of his other servants, 5*l.* To Thomas Manson, 20*l.* and an annuity of 10*l.* : to Margaret Ferneley on the day of her marriage, 100*l.* ; and 50*l.* on the same occasion, to his cousin Elliott. To his cousin Nowell, 40*l.* ; and 10*l.* a-year, 'as long as he tarryeth and dwelleth with my wife.' To 100 poor men, and the same number of poor women, as many gowns of black cloth, costing 6*s.* 8*d.* per yard,—'for to bring me to my grave.' To Cicely Ciole, 100*l.* To his five executors,—Sir Lionel Duckett, 100*l.* ; Edmund Hogan, 100*l.* ; Thomas Celie, 100*l.* ; Philip Scudamore, 20*l.* ; and Mr. Justice Manwood, 50*l.* To his niece Elizabeth Neville, Gresham left 500*l.* ; 100*l.* on the day of her marriage, and an annuity of 100*l.* for five years : and to his niece Neville, 300*l.* ; 100*l.* on the day of her marriage, (provided she did not marry before she was fifteen years of age,) and an annuity of 100*l.* for three years. To Harry Neville, when he

of executing the former bequest being confided to the city of London ; the latter, to the Mercers' Company. In accordance with the manners of his time, the testator further charged his property with the annual expenditure of 100*l.*,—to be bestowed on four quarterly dinners to his Company.—All such expenses, to the honour of the Mercers be it recorded, are defrayed out of their general funds : but it will probably suggest itself to every reader, that in somewhat the same ratio as it would have been found necessary to increase the sum of 25*l.* to defray the expenses of a dinner, should the annuities to the hospitals and prisons be increased, in order that the charitable intentions of the testator might be fulfilled.

should attain the age of twenty, 100*l.* ; and 'to every of his sons had by my brother's daughter, 100*l.*'—Proved 26th Nov. 1579. Bakon, quire xlviij.—Gresham further charged his estates with the following annuities. "To William Fletwoode, 40*s.* ; Tho. Powell, 40*s.* ; Edward Flowerdew, 40*s.* ; [see Appendix, No. XXIX.] James Ryvet, 40*s.* ; William Yelverton, 26*s.* 8*d.* ; Christopher Rye, 40*s.* ; Phillip Scudamore, 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* ; Christopher Rochel, 5*l.*, Mr. Owen, 40*s.* for their counselles. More to Mr. Doctor Lankton, 40*s.* [a man of indifferent character, by the way, (Stowe's Survey, ed. 1720, b. i. p. 258.) who had been an author in 1547, (comp. Stowe, b. ii. p. 167, and Lowndes p. 1095.)] Dr. Jefford, 40*s.* ; Rauf Morrys, 40*s.*, William Gotherns, 5*l.* for their counsell and help in phesick and surgery. To William Pernel, 10*l.*, to Hugh Powell, 20*s.*, to the lady Taylboyes," concerning whom I find no notice elsewhere, worth recording, the very large annuity of "266*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* ; to the Lady Frances Gresham, 133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* In all amounting Per annum to 467*l.*"—Stowe, ed. 1720. App. ii. p. 5.

Behind his mansion in Bishopsgate-street, Gresham erected eight almshouses ; and by his will he left to each of the 'poor and impotent persons' within them, an annuity of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* The city, by whom these eight pensioners on Sir Thomas Gresham's bounty are appointed, have liberally increased their yearly allowance to 26*l.*,—supplying them, in addition, with coals and clothes : but the almshouses which they erected in 1768 in the city Green-yard, Whitecross-street, form so indifferent a substitute for the eight little tenements contrived by Sir Thomas Gresham, and represented in Plate x, that it may be reasonably questioned whether their founder would admire the change, could he rise from his grave to witness it.

Still less, it may well be supposed, would Gresham have approved of the arrangements with regard to his college, which at first impaired its utility, and eventually led to its annihilation. A brief sketch of the history of Gresham-College will be found in the Appendix," which renders it unnecessary that I should advert to the subject here, except in the most general manner. The *facts* of the case are lamentable, and cannot be too often brought forward and insisted upon. Sir Thomas Gresham left to the city his own mansion ; in the vastness of its proportions, and the extent of its accommodations, perfectly well adapted for

the purposes of a college. He most liberally endowed seven lectureships for the gratuitous instruction of all who chose to be instructed in divinity, astronomy, music, geometry, law, medicine, and rhetoric; and to secure to his fellow-citizens the advantages which he proposed conferring upon them, he appointed the City of London and the Mercers' Company his joint trustees. In process of time, the ground on which Gresham-College stood became so valuable, we are told,—the trust so unprofitable, (in consequence of the expenses incurred in re-building the Exchange after the great fire,)—and the building itself so ruinous, that it was found expedient to dispose of the property; and in the year 1768 an act of parliament was obtained, authorizing the sale of the estate: it was accordingly disposed of to government for an annual payment of 500*l.*; and—the excise-office arose on its site. A more unjustifiable proceeding, when all the circumstances of the case are considered, does not exist on record. From that time an obscure room over the Royal Exchange was appointed for the delivery of the lectures; and a pecuniary compensation was made to the seven professors for the loss of their pleasant collegiate residences.—So immensely has ground in the city of London increased in value of late years, that had Gres-

ham-College been suffered to remain, or had any reasonable use of that property been made during the interval, the trustees to whom the management of its funds was confided, would have been enabled, long before the present period, to erect a college on the ancient site, whose revenues would have been as immense as its benefits would have been incalculable.

The blame of these transactions rests with the dead and not with the living ; but it is incumbent on the latter to repair the injustice of which their predecessors have been guilty towards their common benefactor, as far as lies in their power : nor should they be deterred from so doing by reflecting (as they well may,) that any thing short of the restoration of Gresham-College in all its ancient integrity and intended usefulness, would be but a partial reparation of the unjustifiable step taken in 1768. Were the two highly respectable bodies with whom rests the fulfilment of our merchant's will, to appoint some convenient spot for the delivery of his lectures without prejudice to the integrity of his college,—and no locality seems so well adapted for the purpose as Crosby-hall, at once the most graceful, classical, and appropriate edifice in the city of London,—it is due to the acknowledged eminence of the several professors to anticipate, that the Gresham Lectures would

soon be restored to their ancient usefulness and celebrity.* So desirable a result could not fail to be welcome to all good men ; and *who* so devoid of sympathy for the munificent spirits of a by-gone age, as not to feel his humanity outraged, when he beholds an important bequest perverted, or only imperfectly fulfilled ? Who so engrossed with the daily cares and anxieties of life, as to be able to look on unmoved while he sees the state thereby deprived of an enduring ornament,—the community of a substantial blessing,—and the memory of a great man of what should be its brightest crown ? Because Sir Thomas Gresham is silent, must his cause rest unpleaded, or be for ever pleaded in vain ? Let it be remembered, if other arguments are of no avail, that every instance of a neglected, not to say a perverted, foundation, acts as a discouragement to future

* The reader is referred to an admirable performance, entitled “ A Discourse on the Gresham Foundation ; or two introductory Lectures delivered at the Royal Exchange, April 26 and 27, 1836, by William Palmer, Esq. M. A. &c., Gresham Lecturer on Law,” (8vo. 1837),—for many important remarks on the subject of Gresham-College, and the Gresham Lectures. . . . In “ Three Inaugural Lectures, delivered in the theatre of the city of London School, by Edward Taylor, Gresham Professor of Music,” (8vo. 1838,) an equally satisfactory proof of zeal and ability has been afforded ; and to the last-named gentleman the writer has to offer his acknowledgments for much valuable assistance, always most kindly rendered.

benefactors ; and thus makes the living accountable for their inactivity, not to the dead alone, but to generations yet unborn.

The Royal Exchange,—a few historical notices of which have been already given, and concerning which more will be found in the Appendix,—was for the second time destroyed by fire, on the night of the 10th of January, 1838 ; and at the time these concluding lines are written, is only to be traced in the ruins which mark its site.



APPENDIX.

No. XXVIII.

Halling Palace, or Place, in Kent.

[Referred to at page 153, note ^a.]

Halling Palace, (or, as Lambarde and Sir Thomas Gresham write the latter word, *Place*,) was a residence of the bishops of Rochester; the ruins of which are still to be seen. "At this Place of the Bishop in Halling," says Lambarde, who composed his *Perambulation of Kent* in 1570, "I am drawing on the last scene of my life: where God hath given me *Liberorum Quadrigam*,—all the fruite that ever I had." [p. 407.]

All Kentish historians give Whorne's (or Horne's) Place as the residence of the Lewsons. "Sir Richard sold it to John Marsham, Esq., from whose family, (viz. the present Lord Romney,) the estate was purchased about thirty years ago by the grandfather of the present Lord Darnley, to whom it now belongs. Sir Richard lived himself in a house at Halling, called Langridge, or Bavents, at different times. This place is situated about five miles from Rochester, and Whorne's Place, about three and a half." Obliginglly communicated by the Rev. R. W. Shaw, of Halling.

No. XXIX.

Sir Thomas Gresham to Edward Flowerdew, Esq.

[Referred to at page 492, note ^b.]

The original of the following letter I found loose in Gough's copy of Ward's "Lives," &c. preserved in the Bodleian library.

"After my verie hartie comendations. Wheras my friend Mr. Stringer is now in Norff to kepe my courtes, and to consider of all my busines there that is to be donne,—these shalbe to require youe As to ayde him all that you canne, in anie of my causes, whensoever he shall haue accesse vnto youe. And to geue no more credit

in my doings to Billingford, Husbond, and Peter my serfints, then Mr. Stringer shall signifie vnto you. And for yo^r courtesie that you shall shew me herin, I shall consider yo^r pains to yo^r contentation. Thus right hartelie fare you well. From Londonn the xxith of August, 1572. Yo^r loving frynde

THOMAS GRESHM.^h"

"To the worshipfull Mr Edward
Flowerdew, Esquyer."

The person here addressed was of Hetherset in the county of Norfolk: a serjeant-at-law, and one of the Barons of the Exchequer. [Blomefield's Norfolk, vol. ii. page 518].—Concerning Mr. Stringer, vide antea, and below.—Murdin (p. 213) has preserved a letter from Gresham to Lord Burghley, dated 21 April, 1572, in favour of his "Frinde Mr. Anthonny Stringgr," begging "that he may remayne in his offyce of Receavorshippe."

No. XXX.

Concerning the Royal Exchange and Gresham-College.

[Referred to at page 494, note ^c.]

Since the preceding sheets have been printed, the documents alluded to in vol. ii. p. 80, note *, have made their appearance. They enable me to add a few particulars to the early history of the Royal Exchange, contained in the foregoing pages; and I only regret that I was not allowed to introduce them in their proper place.

On the 4th of January, 1564-5, as already stated, Gresham's proposition was signified to the court of Aldermen, by his servant Anthony Strynger; and thankfully acceded to by them. They agreed that Sir Thomas should employ such *strangers* about the making of the said Burse, as he might think proper: and entrusted certain of their number with the task of fixing on a commodious site for its erection. These persons were to make their report to the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen on the following Sunday, at 8 o'clock, in the chapel of St. Paul's church, where they were in the habit of assembling before sermon time. So strong was the attachment of the citizens, in those days, to their accustomed haunt,—Lombard Street, that it was determined, on the present occasion, that the fittest place for a Burse would be the ground between that street and Cornhill: and it was resolved (on Monday, 8th Jan.,) that the Merchant-Tailors' Company should be petitioned.

for leave to pull down the mansion-house in which Alderman Harpur resided, and some other houses adjoining, for the purpose of obtaining a commodious site. To this scheme it is obvious that some obstacles were raised; for it was abandoned, and in six weeks a negotiation was opened with Dean Wotton for the very ground on which the late Exchange stood.—It is time to state that Alderman Rowe, Gresham's kinsman, concerning whom we have already had something to communicate, took a leading part in these negotiations; and at eight o'clock in the morning of the 23rd July, was waited on in his mansion-house in Bishopsgate-street by the wardens of the twelve principal companies, who had been summoned for the express purpose of entering into arrangements for facilitating the erection of the Burse. In the December following, the benevolence and aid of the Merchants Adventurers and Merchants of the Staple, beyond the sea, was solicited with the same object. A copy of the letter which was addressed to them (dated January 1565-6) has been preserved; and is very curious. The sum therein specified and required, was 400 marks; to be paid within two months.

At Christmas 1565, warning was given to the inhabitants of the houses which it was proposed to remove in order to erect the Burse, to vacate their dwellings before the ensuing 25th of March; that is to say, before New-year's day, old style: Geoffrey Walkeden and Thomas Banister being appointed to negotiate with the several householders, and talk with them. Precepts were issued, in the mean time, to the wardens of the several companies, for levying contributions in aid of the purchase of the intended site. Mr. Alderman Jakeman was chosen treasurer; and Sir Thomas White, Sir William Garrard, Sir William Chester, Sir John White, and Alderman Rowe, commissioners for the undertaking. It was settled that by the ensuing month of May, (1566,) all should be ready for the workmen "to fall in hand with the foundation thereof:" and that the Burse was to be 55 yards in length, and 45 in breadth: to extend from Walkeden's alley to Jaques' house,—a "little old house in Cornehill," inhabited by a widow, which "the cytie was driven to bye" for 100 marks. These arrangements bear date 7th January, 1565-6.

On the 9th of February following, 'Sir Thomas Gresham being at the house of Mr. John Ryvers, alderman, in company with Sir William Garrard, Sir William Chester, Thomas Rowe, Lionel Duckett, German Ciol, and Thomas Bannister, most frankly and lovingly promised,' that within a month after the Burse should be fully finished, he would present it, in equal moieties, to the city and the Mercers' Company. In token of his sincerity, he thereupon

gave his hand to Sir William Garrard; and in the presence of his assembled friends, drank a carouse to his kinsman Thomas Rowe. How rarely do ancient documents furnish us with such a picture of ancient manners!

Thirty-eight houses, of which some seem to have been cottages, a store-house, and two gardens, were demolished in order to make room for the Burse: and of these, thirteen tenements, the store-house, and one of the gardens, which was called 'Canterbury Garden,' belonged to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, and was purchased for 600*l.* Hence the negotiation with Dean Wotton, already noticed. The city finally paid to the proprietors of the soil for the whole number of houses, 2208*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*: to the tenants, for their leases, 1222*l.* 14*s.*: and in legal and other expenses, 101*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.*: making in all 3532*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.*

The householders, forty-six in number, who occupied the site of the Burse, seem for the most part to have been cloth-workers and drapers.—When the site, on which it was intended that the edifice should stand, had been made clear, the length of the area from east to west on the Cornhill side, was found to be 161 feet 6 inches; and on the Broad-street side, 118 feet 6 inches. From Cornhill to Broad-street on the Swan-alley side, was 198 feet; and on the New-alley side, 149 feet 6 inches.

Towards defraying the expenses which had been incurred, the city possessed 204*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* in unpaid contributions, &c. The materials of the old houses were sold for 478*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*; and twenty of the principal companies contributed 1685*l.* 9*s.* 7*d.* The list of 738 persons by whom this amount was subscribed, in sums varying between 10*s.* and 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, is very interesting. Among the Mercers (whose contribution amounted to 296*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) we recognise Sir Thomas Leigh, Sir Richard Mallory, Roger Martyn, William Allen Allen, and Lionel Duckett, aldermen, who gave 10*l.* each. John Marsh, 5*l.*; John Gresham, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; John Fitzwilliams, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; John Isham, 5*l.*; Geoffrey Duckett, 4*l.*; Edmund Gresham, 5*l.*; Nicholas Lewson, 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; Henry Isham, 3*l.*; William Lewson, 3*l.*; William Dansey, 30*s.*—Among the Drapers, (who subscribed 144*l.*) we have Sir Richard Campion, Lord Mayor, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; and Sir William Chester 10*l.*—Among the Grocers, (who gave 281*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*) we recognise Sir John White 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; and among the Goldsmiths, (who contributed 78*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*) Sir Martin Bowes, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*—Among the Merchant-Tailors, (whose subscription amounted to 183*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*) Sir Thomas Offley, 10*l.*; Sir William Harpur, (the founder of Bedford free-school,) 5*l.*; Alderman Rowe, 10*l.*; Sir John York, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*: and among the Haberdashers,

(who gave 175*l.*) Sir William Garrard, 10*l.*; and Mr. William Bond, 5*l.*—John Norden, scrivener, subscribed 20*s.*

On the 13th September, 1566, an account was rendered by Thomas Rowe of the proceedings of the commissioners up to that day: by which it appears that, at that time, their receipts had about equalled their disbursements. Previous to that event, however, we meet with a curious entry, showing that the bricklayers of the city had been guilty of many misdemeanours, 'both in words and deeds,' towards Sir Thomas Gresham: jealous, probably, of the foreigners whom he had begun to employ on his edifice. The foundation-stone Gresham had laid with his own hands on the 7th June, 1566: and it was on the 13th that it was resolved by the aldermen, to petition him in favour of the English workmen. Whether they were successful in their suit, does not appear; but it probably did not much dispose Gresham in favour of the candidates for employment, that one William Crow, apparently a bricklayer, had been guilty of "very lewde demeanour towards Henrick, the said Sir Thomas Gresham's chief workman."—The only hint respecting the appearance of the Burse supplied by the documents from which I am quoting, relates to the pillars; which are declared to have been "playne not carved, or otherwise curiously wrought."

Supposing that the reader bears in mind what has been said respecting the building of the Exchange in the foregoing pages, I forbear recurring to the subject here; and with reference to its history during its founder's life-time, will only mention that when the queen paid her memorable visit to Sir Thomas Gresham, in January 1571, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and all the Companies of the city were ordered to receive her in their liveries: 'standing in their accustomed places, heretofore used for the like purpose.' The appearance which the Exchange may be supposed to have presented at that period, has been already discussed at considerable length: these pages must be considered to have for their principal object, the supplying of inevitable deficiencies and the correction of inaccuracies in what has gone before.

Immediately after the death of the Lady Gresham, the Royal Exchange, of which the revenues amounted to the clear yearly value of 75*l.* 5*s.*, reverted to the Corporation of the city of London and the Mercers' Company: a patent from the Crown, bearing date the 3rd February, 1614, (12 James I.) confirming them in their possession of this property.* It is a curious circumstance, that many years before this transfer took place, indeed immediately after Gresham's

* A copy of the City's petition, and the royal patent which it procured, may be found in MS. at the end of Ward's copy of his *Lives*, &c. p. 6.

death, the Royal Exchange was declared to be in an unsound condition. We learn this from the Inquest-book of Cornhill Ward, where it is stated that, so early as the year 1580, the Royal Exchange was presented as "dangerous for those which walk under; part being broken and like to fall downe."—[Angell's Historical Sketch of the Royal Exchange, &c. 8vo. 1838, p. 14.]: and two years after, a frequented part of the same building, "by the insufficiency of the workmanship thereof, and want of good stuff," was pronounced "gretely defective, and very perilous to the walkers thereunder. In such wise as the mayne free stones of the arches thereof have fallen, and a great parte of the same arches are reddey to fall, to the great danger of the lives of persons, younge and old, daily walkinge thereunder, and resorting to the same Exchange." Also, at a certain grate "right over against the south dore of the said Royall Exchange, in the middle of the streete and common passage thereof, is a greate hole, which of long tyme hath so contynued, to the great danger, hurt, and losse of life and limb, and mayminge of both men and beast, and other comon passers thereby; as namely, the foot of a horse slip't lately therein, a man being on his back, to the greate danger of the horse's legg, and of the legg of the man by the fall of the horse. Sithens which, an ox legg fell therein, and thereby was broke in two." Again, in 1598, the south and south-west ends of the Exchange were presented as "cracked, and dangerouslie decayed." From all of which passages it would appear that the old Exchange was improperly constructed: whether it was built too hastily, of indifferent materials, or in an unskilful manner, it would be hopeless at this distance of time to discover, and useless to discuss.

Notwithstanding the preceding evidence, we have the testimony of Mr. John Evelyn and others, to the imposing appearance of the Exchange after it had been erected upwards of seventy years. "I do not look upon the structure of the Exchange to be comparable to that of Sir Thomas Gresham in our city of London," says Evelyn, writing from Amsterdam in 1641; "yet in one respect it exceeds, that ships of considerable burthen ride at the very key contiguous to it." He writes from Paris in the same strain:—"I went to the Exchange: the late addition to the buildings is very noble, but the gallerys where they sell their petty merchandize are *nothing so stately as ours in London*, no more than the place where they walk below, being only a low vault." Even the associations which the Rialto must have awakened, failed to seduce him from his allegiance to the city of London. He writes from Venice in June 1645,—"*I went to their Exchange, a place like ours frequented by merchants, but nothing so magnificent.*"

Contemporary with Mr. John Evelyn lived Samuel Rolle, a clergyman; who, in a work to be hereafter mentioned, has left the following account of this edifice as it appeared in his day. "How full of riches," he exclaims, "was that Royal Exchange! rich men in the midst of it, rich goods both above and beneath! There men walked upon the top of a wealthy mine; considering what eastern treasures, costly spices, and such like things were laid up in the bowels (I mean the cellars) of that place. As for the upper part of it, was it not the great storehouse whence the nobility and gentry of England were furnished with most of those costly things wherewith they did adorn either their closets or themselves? Here, if any where, might a man have seen the glory of the world in a moment. . . . What artificial thing could entertain the senses, the fantasies of men, that was not there to be had? Such was the delight that many gallants took in that magazine of all curious varieties, that they could almost have dwelt there, (going from shop to shop like bee from flower to flower,) if they had but had a fountain of money that could not have been drawn dry. I doubt not but a Mahomedan (who never expects other than sensual delights) would gladly have availed himself of that place, and the treasures of it, for his heaven, and have thought there were none like it." [Burning of London, &c., part iii. medit. ix. p. 47.]

Overcharged as this picture may be, it is nevertheless a curious fact, that for many years before and after Rolle wrote, the Exchange was resorted to from all parts of London and the country, for the purchase of the necessaries as well as the elegancies of life. Stowe says that it obtained the appellation of the *Eye of London*. The upper walk, or Pawne as it was called, was frequented by gallants and ladies of fashion, and must have resembled, both in nature and appearance, a modern bazaar; which will not appear so strange when it is remembered that at that time, Barbican, the Minorities, and the purlieus of Smithfield were inhabited by the first nobility of the land. Donald Lupton, in a little work called "London and the Countrey carbonadoed and quartred into severall characters," published in 1632, says of the Exchange,—“Here are usually more coaches attendant than at church doors. The merchants should keep their wives from visiting the upper rooms too often, lest they tire their purses by attiring themselves. . . . There's many gentlewomen come hither, that, to help their faces and complexion, break their husbands' backs; who play foul in the country with their land, to be fair and play false in the city.” [12mo. pp. 157. Harl. Miscell. by Park, 1812, 4to. vol. ix. p. 315.]

It had been the subject of an express proclamation, from the

foundation of the Burse, that no person frequenting it should wear any kind of weapon;—an order which was renewed in the year 1579, “with addycion, that no person or persons shall, betwixt Easter and Mychelmas, use to walke there after the howre of tenne of the the clocke at night; and betwixt that and Easter after nyne, upon payne of ymprysonmente.” The lower part of the Royal Exchange, in fact, was not only a place of rendezvous for merchants, but, as we have already noticed, soon became a favourite lounge with the citizens; and its piazzas, like the aisles of St. Paul’s cathedral, the habitual resort of newsmongers, and idlers of every description. “Sum tymes,” says an old writer, “the prowde and loftie do walke there to be sene in there heyght and braverie, as well as others of good degre, bothe men and women, spend an hower there for necessitie of recreation.” Bishop Hall [Satires, book vi. sat. i.] describes

“Tattelius, the new-come traveller,
With his disguised coat, and ringed ear,
Tramping the Bourse’s marble twice a day.”

Other old satirists have aimed a shaft in the same quarter. The author of the “Letting of Humours Blood in the Head Vaine,” for instance, paints an exceptionable character dropping “into the Reall Exchange:” and Hayman, in his “Quodlibets,” [1628, p. 6.] has the following epigram “To Sir Pierce Pennilesse,” in which he evidently means to be severe upon the needy loungers who frequented *Paul’s* and the Exchange:

“Though little coin thy purseless pockets line,
Yet with great company thou’rt taken up:
For often with Duke Humfray thou dost dine,
And often with Sir Thomas Gresham sup.”

Our picture would be incomplete were we to omit to avail ourselves of one or two graphic hints supplied by the Inquest-book of Cornhill Ward. It informs us, that in 1590 “Certain women, maidens, and others, were presented for selling of oranges, apples, and other things at the Exchange-gate in Cornhill, and amusing themselves in cursinge and swearing, to the great annoyance and greif of the enhabitants and passers by:” and that William Grimbrel was presented in 1594, “for keepinge typlinge in the vaults under the Exchange, and for broylinge of herringes, sprotts, and bacon, and other thinges in the same vault; noysome to the merchaunts and others resortinge to the Exchange.” It was probably in order to abate the former nuisance that an injunction was issued in 1607, “that noe manner of fruite, save only orenges and lymonds, shalbe

sold hereafter at either of the gates or passages." In 1622, complaints were made of the "greate abuse and annoyance done before the south gate of the Royall Exchange, especially at the Exchange tyme, by the standing there of rat-catchers, sellers of doggs, birds, plants, trees, and other thinges, to the greate annoyance and trouble of merchants, gents, ladies, and others, resorting as well to the Exchange, as to the pawnes above the Exchange." *

But to the motley group which the preceding extracts enable us to picture assembled in and about this edifice, a character must be added, without which the scene would lack its most grotesque feature. When a bear-baiting was about to take place, the bear-ward previously paraded the streets with his bear, to excite the curiosity of the populace, and induce them to become spectators of the sport. On these occasions, the animal was usually preceded by a minstrel or two, and carried a monkey or baboon upon his back. That the Exchange should have been overlooked by such a peripatetic, is not to be expected: accordingly, we find presented, "The disturbance and annoyance used by the beare-wards in bringing their beares, doggs, and bulls before the Exchange in Cornhill, and there making proclamacion, commonly at the Exchange time, to the drawing together of tumult, and other inconvenience."

There is extant a very scarce work by John Payne, printed at Haarlem in 1597, and bearing the following title: The "Royall Exchange; [dedicated] to suche worshipfull Citezins, Marchants, Gentlemen, and other occupiers of the contrey as resorte thervnto." Under this promising name we have a treatise very little to our purpose; for the author, with a pious motive, had recourse to the not uncommon expedient, of disguising his real intention of preaching a homily, by prefixing an attractive title to his exhortatory pages. He is the first writer, however, who hints at a source of scandal which was afterwards broadly commented upon by less cautious pens. "In the upper shopps," he says, "as there be honest men and auncient matrons that occupie substantiall and profitable wares to the benefiete of the buyers, so ys yt otherwyse of the rest reported. But because men love better gentle admonitions than bytter umbradings, therefore I wyshe bothe yong men and reputed virgins there to wynn credit to the hows and to themselves, by desert of better fame then is abroad; and to be no less honest and chaste yong men, sober damselles and virgins, indede and in proufe, than they are in face and shew, for to stop the mowthes of such yll reporters; eschewinge levitie and wantonnes, with the pride of hart, gate, and apparell; and not to sitt ydlie and gasinge about, but cyther havinge leysure to be profitablie readinge, or as the apostle

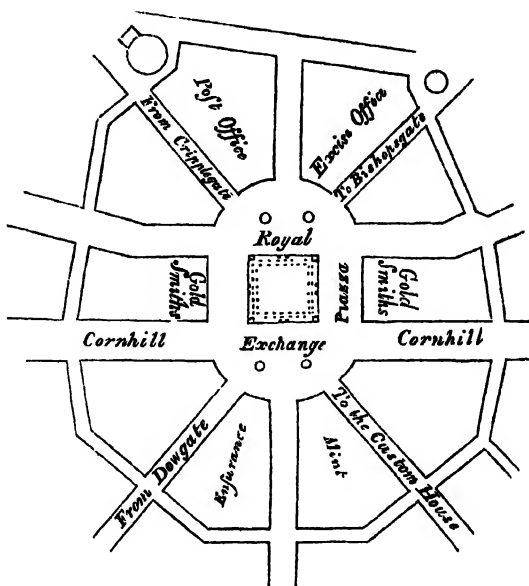
sayethe, to labor and worck sum good thing with their handes, for their owne behoufe and others."*

The Royal Exchange was utterly destroyed in the great fire of 1666; on which occasion it was noticed by a shoal of contemporary writers as a curious incident, that the statue of Sir Thomas Gresham, which had been erected in a niche at the northern extremity of the west piazza, was the only one which escaped the destructive influence of the conflagration. "When the fire was entered," says a contemporary writer who undertook to describe the catastrophe, "how quickly did it run around the galleries, filling them with flames; then, descending the stairs, compasseth the walks, giving forth flaming vollies, and filling the court with sheets of fire! By and by, the kings fell all down upon their faces, and the greater part of the stone building after them, (the founder's statue alone remaining,) with such a noise as was dreadful and astonishing."—"Sir Thomas Gresham's statue," says Evelyn, though fallen from its niche, remained entire when all those of the kings since the Conquest were broken to peices." Samuel Rolle, a clergyman, who in 1667 "improved" the "Burning of London," "in one hundred and ten Discourses, Meditations, and Contemplations," (after sundry digressions "concerning the nature of fire,"—"concerning the true cause of combustibility,"—"touching the nature of sulphur,"—and so forth,) devotes a whole chapter to "the statue of Sir Thomas Gresham left standing at the old Exchange;" showing "how great and particular a respect did the fire shew to the effigies of that worthy knight." [Part iii. p. 188, medit. 51.]

The Exchange having thus shared the fate of most other edifices within the city of London, it became an object of prime concern, after the fire, to see it re-edified; and a curious inference, clearly showing the degree of importance which was attached to that edifice by our forefathers, is to be drawn from the plan of Sir Christopher Wren for rebuilding London; his proposition being, that the Exchange, reconstructed on its ancient site, should "stand free in the middle of a piazza, and be as it were the nave or centre of the town, from whence the sixty-feet streets, as so many rays, should proceed to all principal parts of the city. The building to be continued after the form of the Roman Forum, with double porticoes." Such was Wren's scheme, which will be best illustrated by the following outline, copied by Mr. Angell from Sir Christopher Wren's plan for rebuilding the city after the great fire, (engraved by Hulsberg in 1724,) and transferred to these pages from that gentleman's interest-

* 4to. b. i. pp. 48.—p. 15. I am indebted to Mr. Thorpe, of Piccadilly, for the use of this rare volume, of which no copy exists in the British Museum.

ing "Historical Sketch of the Royal Exchange," (8vo. 1838,) whence also a few of the preceding quotations have been derived.



On the 2d of November, 1666, Mr. Hook, Mr. Mills, and Mr. Jer-
man, the city surveyors, were requested to prepare an estimate for
rebuilding the Royal Exchange. In the following February, (15th)
the joint committee of the Corporation and the Mercers' Company
ordered the ground to be cleared, and on the 25th agreed to petition
Charles II. for an order to obtain Portland stone. To this petition
the king was pleased to accede; but the committee conceived them-
selves to be so much indebted to Sir John Denham, his majesty's
surveyor-general of his works, for having furthered their suit, and
in other ways assisted them, that on the 16th December, 1667, ex-
pecting a visit from him on the following Wednesday to view the
Exchange and streets adjoining, they made "provision of six or
eight dishes of meate att the Sun tavern, to interteyne him withal;"
and agreed "to present him with thirty guiney peeces of gold, as a
token of their gratitude."

Still, though the Gresham committee met frequently, no progress
was made in the main object,—viz. the rebuilding of the Exchange.

The fact seems to have been, that the extraordinary calamity which had reduced the metropolis to a heap of ruins, afforded so much occupation to the city-surveyors, that between the "overmuch business of Mr. Mills, and some dissatisfaction in Mr. Jerman," the month of April, 1667, came to a close, without any material steps having been taken in furtherance of the object of the committee. On the 25th, however, unanimous choice was made of Mr. Jerman for undertaking the work : next to Mr. Mills, he was pronounced to be "the most able known artist" that the city then had ; and the former architect having declared himself too busy to perform the work alone, Mr. Jerman, "after much reluctance and unwillingness, objecting it might be thought an intrenchment upon Mr. Mills his right,"—yielded to the solicitation of the committee, and entered at once upon his duties.

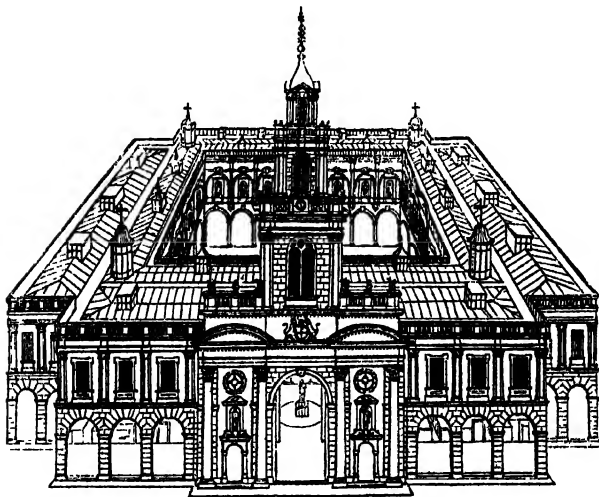
Jerman's design for the new building being completed, and the royal approbation of it obtained, together with permission to extend the south-west angle of the new Exchange into the street, the building (of which the need was severely felt) was immediately proceeded with : and the foundation-stone was laid on the 6th of May, 1667. On the 23rd of October, Charles II. laid the base of the column on the west side of the north entrance ; after which he was plentifully regaled "with a chine of beef, grand dish of fowle, gammons of bacon, dried tongues, anchovies, caviare, &c., and plenty of several sorts of wine. He gave 20*l.* in gold to the workmen. The entertainment was in a shed, built and adorned on purpose upon the Scotch walk." Pepys has given some account of this interesting ceremony in his diary ; where we read,—“Sir W. Pen and I back into London, and there saw the king, with his kettle-drums and trumpets, going to the Exchange ; which, the gates being shut, I could not get in to see. So, with Sir W. Pen to Captain Cockes, and thence again towards Westminster ; but, in my way, stopped at the Exchange and got in, the king being newly gone, and there find the bottom of the first pillar laid. And here was a shed set up, and hung with tapestry and a canopy of state, and some good victuals, and wine for the king, who it seems did it.”

James II., then Duke of York, laid the first stone of the eastern column on the 31st of October. He was regaled in the same manner as the king had been ; and on the 18th of November following, Prince Rupert laid the first stone of the pillar on the east side of the south entrance, and was entertained by the city and company in the same place. [Journals of the House of Commons.]

The reader who desires fuller particulars concerning this portion of the history of the new structure, may be easily gratified : but

enough has been said for my purpose. It only remains to add that the expenses attending its erection amounted to 58,962*l.*; and that for enlarging the ancient site, 7017*l.* 11*s.* were disbursed in addition: making a total expense of 65,979*l.* 11*s.*—The Royal Exchange was opened for the reception of the merchants on the 28th of September, 1669, during the mayoralty of Sir William Turner;—an event which it was proposed to commemorate in these words, to be engraved on a compartment over the south entrance, inside the quadrangle: *Excambium hoc, anno 1666, in cineres reductum, in plusquam antiquum splendorem, Prætoræ Will'mo Turnero, Equite, anno 1669, restitutum fuit.* For this, however, the following inscription was substituted:

“Hoc Gresshamii Perystyllium,
Gentium Commerciis Sacrum,
Flammis extinctum 1666,
Augustius è cinere resurrexit 1669.
Will' Turnero Milite Prætoræ.”



The reader of taste will not fail to associate the name of Addison with the later history of the Royal Exchange. His humanity could not slumber in a spot so teeming with life and excitement. “There is no place in the town,” says that gentle philosopher, “which I so much love to frequent as the Royal Exchange. It

gives me a secret satisfaction, and in some measure gratifies my vanity, as I am an Englishman, to see so rich an assembly of countrymen and foreigners, consulting together upon the private business of mankind, and making this metropolis a kind of *emporium* for the whole earth. I must confess I look upon high-change to be a great council, in which all considerable nations have their representatives. Factors in the trading world, are what ambassadors are in the politic world; they negotiate affairs, conclude treaties, and maintain a good correspondence between those wealthy societies of men that are divided from one another by seas and oceans, or live on the different extremities of a continent. I have often been pleased to hear disputes adjusted between an inhabitant of Japan and an alderman of London; or to see a subject of the Great Mogul entering into a league with one of the Czar of Muscovy. I am infinitely delighted in mixing with these several ministers of commerce, as they are distinguished by their different walks and different languages. Sometimes I am jostled among a body of Armenians; sometimes I am lost in a crowd of Jews; and sometimes make one in a group of Dutchmen. I am a Dane, Swede, or Frenchman at different times; or rather fancy myself like the old philosopher, who, upon being asked what countryman he was, replied, that he was a citizen of the world."

"When I have been upon the 'Change," (such are the concluding words of the paper,) "I have often fancied one of our old kings standing in person, where he is represented in effigy, and looking down upon the wealthy concourse of people with which that place is every day filled. In this case, how would he be surprised to hear all the languages of Europe spoken in this little spot of his former dominions, and to see so many private men who, in his time, would have been the vassals of some powerful baron, negotiating, like princes, for greater sums of money than were formerly to be met with in the royal treasury! Trade, without enlarging the British territories, has given us a kind of additional empire. It has multiplied the number of the rich, made our landed estates infinitely more valuable than they were formerly, and added to them an accession of other estates as valuable as the land themselves." [Spectator, No. 69.]

The space of one-hundred and twenty-five years has somewhat impaired the animation of the scene described in the Spectator; but if a change is perceptible in the lower part of the building, a still greater revolution has been effected above stairs. In a preceding page it has been mentioned that the upper part of the Exchange was divided by its founder into shops, which were fur-

nished with gay wares, and where every description of merchandise was exposed for sale. An old writer, already quoted, has borne ample testimony to the animated aspect of the Exchange previous to the great fire; and it appears, from many sources, that it soon recovered its former celebrity in this, as well as in every other respect. In 1683, the following idle verses appeared; forming part of Robin Conscience's "Progress through Court, City, and Country."

"Now I being thus abus'd below,
Did walk up stairs, where on a row,
Brave shops of ware did make a shew
Most sumptuous.

The gallant girls that there sold knacks,
Which ladies and brave women lacks,
When they did see me, they did wax
In choler.

Quoth they, we ne'er knew Conscience yet,
And if he comes our gains to get,
We'll banish him; he'll here not get
One scholar."

With equal truth, apparently, might they have made the same assertion eighty years before: for it had been ordered (30th June, 1608,) "that none of the shopkeepers in the Exchange bee hereafter permitted to drawe or hang anye curtaynes or clothes before the windowes or lights of their shoppes, to diminishe, obscure, or shadow their lights; whereby such as have come to buye their wares have bene much wronged and deceived."

It appears from one of Steele's contributions to the Spectator, [No. 454,] that so late as the year 1712, the shops continued to present undiminished attraction. They were then 160 in number: and letting at 20*l.* or 30*l.* each, formed in all a yearly rent of 4000*l.* so at least it is stated on a print published in 1712, of which a copy may be seen in Mr. Crowle's Pennant. Steele is describing the adventures of a day, and relates that, in the course of his ramble, he went to divert himself on 'Change. "It was not the least of my satisfaction in my survey," says he, "to go up stairs and pass the shops of agreeable females: to observe so many pretty hands busy in the folding of ribbons, and the utmost eagerness of agreeable faces in the sale of patches, pins, and wires, on each side of the counters, was an amusement in which I could longer have indulged myself, had not the dear creatures called to me, to ask what I wanted." Maitland, writing in 1739, says,—"The upper part of the Royal Exchange (till of late) was completely filled with shops, stored

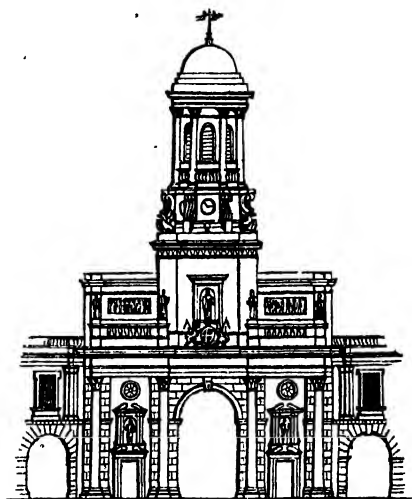
with the richest and choicest sorts of merchandize; but the same being now forsaken, it appears like a Wilderness." [Hist. of London, ed. 1739, p. 467.]

It seems that in Gresham's time, *'Change hours* as they are called, or the periods when merchants meet on the Exchange for transacting business, were from eleven o'clock in the morning until twelve, at which hour it was customary to dine; and in the evening from five till six o'clock: except during the summer-months, when they assembled from six till seven. These hours continued the same until the year 1670; at which time the inconvenience of making the Bourse a public lounge probably began to be felt; for a fine was imposed on any one who should presume to remain on 'Change after the bell, which proclaimed the Exchange hours over, had ceased to ring. As fashion prescribed a later hour for dining, the Exchange hours grew gradually later and later; and, as a natural consequence, merchants now meet on 'Change but once a-day; viz. at four o'clock. The author of a clever poem, called "The wealthy Shopkeeper, or the charitable Citizen," published in the year 1700, in sketching the character of the wealthy shopkeeper, mentions incidentally what was the usage in this particular, a century and a half ago.

"For half an hour he feeds; and when he's done,
In's elbow-chair he takes a nap till one:
From thence to 'Change he hurries in a heat,
(Where knaves and fools in mighty numbers meet,
And kindly mix the bubble with the cheat.)
There barter, buys and sells, receives and pays,
And turns the pence a hundred sev'ral ways.
In that great hive where markets rise and fall,
And swarms of muckworms round its pillars crawl,
He, like the rest, as busie as a bee,
Remains among the hen-peck'd herd till three:
Thence to Lloyd's coffee-house," &c. [p. 12.]

We learn from another of Steele's Essays, that in his time the merchants continued to meet on 'Change twice in the day: for he complains that many abuses were permitted there; and especially on evening 'Change, that "the mumpers, the halt, the blind, and the lame; your venders of trash, apples, plums; your ragamuffins, rake-shames, and wenches; have jostled the greater number of honourable merchants, substantial tradesmen, and knowing masters of ships, out of that place. So that what with the din of squallings, oaths, and cries of beggars, men of the greatest consequence in our city absent themselves from the Royal Exchange." [No. 509.]

Here we may be permitted to take leave of this structure. Its later annals are within the reach of every one. The following wood-engraving will recall the appearance its portico presented previous to its destruction on the 10th of January, 1838; and the subject shall be dismissed with the sincere hope that a building may shortly arise on its site worthy of the mighty metropolis, which so conspicuous an object must infallibly either adorn or disfigure.



Having brought our account of the Royal Exchange to an end, it becomes necessary to revert once more to the close of the sixteenth century, in order to trace from its commencement the history of Gresham College. Gresham-House acquired that name soon after the decease of the Lady Gresham, which happened in November 1596. Immediately after that event, by which the City of London and the Mercers' Company became possessed of the edifice, those two public bodies, with all due care and solemnity, entered upon the discharge of the duties which at the same time devolved upon them; and distrustful of their own ability to select persons fully qualified for the vacant professorships in their gift, simultaneously requested the universities to assist them in their choice; "no whitt doubting but that the eie of her Sovereign majestie, her honorable counsell, and of all other of best judgement throughout this land, would observe their doing, with what care and good discretion they performed this dutie, being a matter of soe good importance

to the church of God and this common wealth." [From the letter of the City of London to the University of Oxford, published in Ward's *Lives*, p. 34.]

Their letters, dated January 1596-7, obtained a prompt reply from the university of Oxford; which, in compliance with the request of the applicants, nominated two of their members fit for each faculty. The sister university, however, referred the question to her chancellor, Lord Burghley, jealous lest this new foundation in London might prove prejudicial to her interests. We are not informed of the ultimate result of the application as far as Cambridge was concerned, but we learn that the electors, as if wishing to show an equal degree of respect to both universities, ended by appointing three of their professors,—those of astronomy, (Edward Brerewood); of physic, (Matthew Gwinne); and of rhetoric, (Caleb Willis,) from Oxford: and three others, those of divinity, (Anthony Wotton); of geometry, (Henry Briggs); and of law, (Henry Mountlow,) from Cambridge: the professor of music, the celebrated Dr. Bull, who was a graduate of both universities, being appointed by Queen Elizabeth herself. Some little delay necessarily occurred while these arrangements were in progress; but on the 31st of March, 1597, preliminaries had been so far adjusted, that the professors took possession of the apartments respectively allotted to them in the college; and their readings, or as they were then called, their "*solemn lectures*" (from the Latin *sollennis*, being appointed to be read at a certain fixed time,) commenced in the Trinity term following.

In the infancy of the Institution, many were the salutary regulations introduced for its better government, and many the compacts entered into by the parties concerned, in order that "the publick reading of the said lectures might be performed in such a manner as should most tend to the glory of God, and the common benefit of the people of this city, which we doubt not," said they, "to be the principal end of the founder in ordaining of the said lectures." One or two of the schemes drawn up at that time, but not acted upon, together with some curious documents relating to the Gresham Lectures while they were yet in their infancy, were found among Lord Burghley's papers; and may be seen transcribed in MS. from the originals, (some time in the possession of James West, Esq.,) at the end of Ward's copy of his *Lives of the Professors*, &c. preserved in the British Museum.—It was in this anxious spirit of doing whatever might be most conducive to the celebrity of the college and the utility of the lectures, that on the 16th of January, 1597-8, we find it finally agreed between the pro-

fessors and the Gresham committee, that the Divinity reader (to whom Wednesday was assigned) "should employ his time in the said solemn lectures in the sound handling of such controversies as concern the chief points of our Christian faith; specially those wherein the Church of England differs from the common adversaries the Papists, and other sectaries: wherein he shall endeavour to confirm the truth of doctrine now established in the Church of England, and to refute the adverse party, and with great conscience and circumspection to bould [sift] out the true state of every controversy, specially drawn from the council of Trent and the late writers of refined Popery; and to overthrow their false opinions, first with scripture, then with consent of antiquity, and lastly with schoolmen and chief writers."—The professor of Law, (who was to lecture on Tuesday, for three-quarters of an hour in Latin, and for the remainder of the hour in English,) was to handle such legal questions as were most likely to prove interesting and useful to an auditory of merchants and citizens; he was "to cull out such titles and heads of law, that best may serve to the good liking and capacity of the said auditory, and are more usual in common practice, which may be handled after the order of Wisenbecius and certain others, by definition, division, causes material, formal, efficient, final, effects, contraries; and for that this method being first laid out and judiciously handled will be most perspicuous, and will leave nothing that is material in the whole law, concerning that matter, obscure or untouched."—The practical utility of these lectures may be estimated from the important topics which they discussed, of which the following are examples; "*De acquirenda, amittenda, recuperanda possessione.*" "*De verborum et literarum obligationibus.*" "*De emptione et venditione.*" "*De nautis, navibus, et navigatione.*" "*De commerciis et mercatoribus.*" "*De monopolis aliisque conventionibus illicitis,*" &c. &c.—The duties of the professor of Physic, who was to lecture on Monday, are next discussed. "Touching the matter of the said solemn lecture, (for that every man for his health's sake will desire to have some knowledge in the art of physick,) albeit the same is to be referred to the discretion of the reader, yet it is wished, that herein he follow Fernelius his method, by reading first physiologie, then pathologie, and lastly, therapeutice; whereby the body of the said art may be better imprinted by good method in the studious auditors, rather than be disjointed and delivered out of order by exposition of some part of Galen or Hippocrates."—The Geometrician was to read on every Thursday in Trinity term arithmetique, in Michaelmas and Hilary terms theoretical geometry, and in Easter term practical geometry.—The

professor of Astronomy, to whom Friday was assigned, was to read in his solemn lectures, "first, the principles of the sphere, and the theoriques of the planets, and the use of the astrolabe and the staf, and other common instruments for the capacity of mariners; which being read and opened, he shall apply them to use, by reading geography and the art of navigation, in some one term of every year."—Nothing particular is said concerning the chair of Rhetoric; but it was agreed, as every day in the week had its lecture, Saturday being assigned to that last named, that "the professor of Music should read in the afternoons of Thursday and Saturday, between three and four o'clock, in manner following, viz. the theorique part for one half-hour or thereabouts, and the practique, by concert of voice, or of instruments, for the rest of the hour." "It was thought meet," in addition, "for more order and comliness sake, that the said lecturers shall read their lectures in their hoods, according to their degrees in the universities, in such sort as they should there read the same lectures;" and after much debate it was finally enacted, that on its respective day, each lecture, to increase its utility, should be delivered twice,—at eight o'clock in the morning in Latin, and at two o'clock in the afternoon in English. Moreover, the bell which summoned merchants to 'Change, was rung to give notice of the approaching lecture, [Morgan's *Sphere of Gentrie*, iii. c. 6, p. 62, 1661,] a practice which seems to have been discontinued ever after the great fire.—These ordinances are transcribed into Ward's copy of his *Lives*, from a contemporary MS. (see p. 24 of his MS. Appendix.) Dr. Bull, the musician, who was no scholar, obtained a dispensation for reading his lecture in Latin; which, I believe, has been extended to all his successors. The Latin lecture was appointed because it was thought "very likely that diverse strangers of forreign countries, who resort to Gresham College, and understand not the English tongue, will greatly desire to hear the reading of the said lectures, whereby the memory of the said founder in the erecting of the said college for the encrease of learning may be divulged, to the good exsample of forreign nations, and the honour and credit of this honourable city." It may perhaps be as well to mention, that the hour for the English lecture was altered by the Gresham committee to three o'clock in 1706, [Ward's MS.] and that the lectures are at present appointed to be read, in Latin at twelve, and in English at one o'clock,—an arrangement which dates since Professor Ward's time.

Thus carefully established and prudently organized, the Gresham Lectures, as might be anticipated, were for a long time well attended,

and Gresham College became a favourite resort of learned men. In addition to every other attraction, it possessed a valuable collection of books, to which Henry Duke of Norfolk, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, presented the greater part of his old family library, amounting to 2000 volumes. [Thorpe's *Cat. of Autograph Letters*, 1836, part ix. art. 753.] Accordingly, during the national troubles, it became the habitual practice of a party of intelligent persons, who had resolved to meet together occasionally for purposes of philosophical and scientific discussion, once or twice in the week to hold their meetings there. About the year 1658, it appears to have become the established rule to assemble at the Wednesday and Thursday lectures of Sir Christopher Wren and Mr. Rooke, the professors of astronomy and geometry, and after the lecture to adjourn to the private apartment of the professor. But in that year soldiers were quartered in the college, and the peaceful members of the little society might have shared the fate of Archimedes, had they not quitted the spot. In 1660, however, affairs had assumed a calmer aspect, and the meetings were more numerously attended than ever; so that, from a merely voluntary assembly, it was resolved among the members that they should thenceforth become organized, and form themselves into a society.

In the Diary of Mr. John Evelyn, who was of their number, repeated mention is made of these meetings; the members of which, on the 22nd of April, 1663, were incorporated by Charles II., under the title of the "Royal Society of London, for the improvement of Natural Knowledge," of which the king declared himself the founder and patron.

The plague in 1665, and the great fire in 1666, successively disturbed the newly incorporated body, which for a time met only occasionally in a part of the college; the rest being devoted to other more pressing, if not more important purposes. In this their hour of need, it is affecting to notice how the good genius of Gresham, (who had been quietly inurned nearly a century before,) seemed still to watch, as if with paternal care, over the interests of the citizens. The college at this terrible emergency, says Professor Ward, became the common refuge for the citizens of London. Having narrowly escaped the fate of the Royal Exchange, whence it derived all its revenues, "it was agreed between the Gresham committee and the professors, that upon continuing the payment of the salaries, and the lodgings of the professor of astronomy being left for the common use of the professors, and the meetings of the Royal Society; the residue of the college should be in the disposal of the committee during that time of public necessity, till the Ex-

change could be rebuilt, and fitted for the uses appointed by the founder. Upon this, the house was surveyed, and the out-buildings and areas belonging to it were all disposed of by the committee. The lodgings of the divinity professor were assigned for the accommodation of the Lord Mayor; those of the law professor for the Mercers' Company; and the rest of the apartments, with the reading hall, and room behind it, for the city courts and officers. And, as the next regard was to be had to those unhappy sufferers, the Exchange tenants, small shops were allowed to be built for them in the south gallery, the piazza under it, and the west gallery. Nor were the merchants destitute of a convenience for their meetings,—the quadrangle being allotted for their reception, where they assembled, as they had been before accustomed upon the Royal Exchange. Sheds likewise were erected in all places which would admit of them, for the convenience of other citizens, every one thinking himself happy who could procure leave to carry on his trade there. Thus Gresham College became an epitome of this great city, and the centre of all affairs, both public and private, which then were transacted in it." [Ward's Lives, &c., Preface, pp. xiii. xiv.—For further particulars see the documents alluded to at pp. 80, 500.] It will probably be regarded as a singular coincidence, that after the lapse of two centuries, the Exchange having been again reduced to ruin by fire, the merchants have once more repaired to the spot which their forefathers selected; and at the time these lines are written, daily assemble on the site of Gresham College.

The bustle and confusion which prevailed in that ancient edifice during the season of public calamity before alluded to, proved so unfavourable to the pursuits of the Royal Society, that at the invitation of the honourable Henry Howard, Esquire, of Norfolk, the members transferred the scene of their meetings to Arundel-House, in the Strand; though they subsequently returned to Gresham College, as Evelyn in his Diary informs us, under 1st December, 1673. "To Gresham College," says he, "whither the city had invited the Royal Society, by many of their cheife Aldermen and Magistrates, who gave us a collation, to welcome us to our first place of assembly, from whence we had been driven to give place to the city, on their making it their Exchange on the dreadfull conflagration, till their new Exchange was finished, which it now was. The society having till now been entertained and met at Arundel House." [Diary, 4to. vol. i. p. 467.] Once more settled in their ancient haunt, they continued to meet there till the year 1710; when they purchased the house of Dr. Brown in Crane Court, Fleet-street, and removed thither with their curiosities, books, and

instruments, much to the regret of the Gresham professors and the prejudice of the college, of which they had become at least *Animæ dimidium*. Let it never be forgotten, however, that Gresham College was the cradle which fostered the Royal Society in its infant years, for the circumstance should endear its name to all posterity. [Hist. of the Royal Society: *passim*.]

Nine years before this event, namely in 1701, we meet with the first notice of a wish on the part of the trustees of the Gresham property to introduce some innovation, or, as they phrased it, "to make some improvement of Sir Thomas Gresham's gift, the better to enable the citie and the said company to pay his uses;" alluding to the salaries of the seven lecturers, which had been suspended for two years. The occasion of this dishonourable proceeding,—indeed the occasion of the proposition with regard to some new use to be made of the estates entrusted to the City of London and the Mercers' Company,—was the expense with which the rebuilding of the Royal Exchange had been attended: an expense for which those public bodies saw no prospect of being indemnified, and by which they were, year by year, considerable losers. It is fair to state, however, that at this period, (1701,) the wishes of the trustees were extremely reasonable. "It appears," say they, "that *good conveniences may be made for the seven lecturers on part of the ground*; and the remaining part, at a very moderate valuation, will lett to build for 430*l.* 12*s.* *per annum*, ground rent, upon leases for fifty-one years," &c. &c. "That the charge for making conveniences for the lecturers, amounts to 4250*l.*;" and that the eight almshouses would occasion an additional outlay of 650*l.*, which would be nearly defrayed by the value of the old materials on the premises. A petition was in consequence presented to Parliament by the City, the Mercers' Company, and the lecturers; wherein it was stated, that since the rebuilding of the Royal Exchange, the said city and company had been losers of 2000*l.* a-year by that edifice; that many of the shops attached to it "stood empty, the trade there decreasing, though great abatements have been made to encourage the tenants; and that Gresham College was grown old and ruinous;" which was perfectly true.* It was further stated in the petition, (for we cannot do better than transcribe,)—"that the said college stood on a considerable quantity of ground, great part

* It must by that time have been getting into a sad state of decay. It was much dilapidated in 1686, when Sir Christopher Wren surveyed it. Malcolm's *Lond. Red.* iii. p. 570. In the Lambeth library (Codd. MSS. *Gibsoniani*, No. 942. art. 166.) is a paper on the "State of Gresham College, 1699."

lying waste, and it was hoped some improvement might be made thereof by rebuilding, (after very good conveniences made for the said lecturers, and also making better conveniences for the alms-people elsewhere,) the better to enable the said citie and company to maintain the uses appointed by Sir Thomas Gresham; the said corporations being very desirous to perpetuate the memory of so worthy a citizen, which, without some improvement of his gift, they were not longer capable to support.

"Wherefore, and for that the said city, and company, and lecturers are agreed upon a scheme of building for the said lecturers for the purposes aforesaid, they jointly and severally petitioned for leave to bring in a Bill to impower the said city and company to pull downe the present building called Gresham College, and to make such building for the said lecturers as was agreed upon, which would be convenient; and to impower the said city and company to make the best improvement of the remaining ground they could, for the benefit of the said corporations and their successors, the better to enable them to maintain the uses appointed by Sir Thomas Gresham's will."

Now had this, the original proposition, been adhered to, there would have been at the present day no just cause of complaint: nor would any mischief probably have ensued, had their second petition, (dated April 16, 1717,) which is less circumstantially worded, been favourably received; but in 1760, when they again petitioned Parliament, (for in its wisdom it had refused their two former applications, no doubt fully perceiving the wrong which would thereby be done,) they had lost the sense of what they owed to their benefactor; and seem so far to have forgotten that they were about to destroy a college, that the only allusion they make to it is contained in a single sentence. In the "Act to impower them to pull down the said college and alms-houses," they merely contemplated "a clause obliging the said city and company to *erect or provide a proper and convenient room* for the public exhibition of the said lectures," &c. And yet, even then, viz. in 1760, the subversion of Gresham College cannot be said to have been directly aimed at: for the proposition of the trustees merely extended to the letting of the ground upon building leases, or "building good houses upon it, for merchants and others."

In the year 1768 the subject was resumed; and the trustees of the Gresham property succeeded in obtaining an Act [8 Geo. III. cap. 32] to enable them—to *make over the ground whereon Gresham College stood to the Crown, for a perpetual rent of 500l. per annum*.—For this paltry consideration was Gresham College annihilated; nay, the

very site of it parted with for ever. Will it be believed that the City and the Mercers' Company further agreed to pay conjointly "*out of their respective shares of the Gresham estate, 1800*l.* to the commissioners of his Majesty's Excise, towards the charge of pulling down the college, and building an Excise-office?*" Gresham College began to be dismantled on the 8th of August, 1768. In the mean time, an obscure apartment over the Royal Exchange was appointed for the delivery of the lectures: and the professors, to console them for the loss of their collegiate residences, were permitted to abandon, with their cloisters, the monastic celibacy which had been imposed upon them by their benefactor.—Such is, in brief, the history of the destruction of this noble foundation: a history which may be safely pronounced disgraceful to all the parties concerned in it. The trustees calculated, in 1760, that they were losers at that time by Sir Thomas Gresham's gift, 201,318*l.* 17*s.* 8½*d.*: and a similar assertion was made the chief ground of complaint in their several applications to Parliament: but even assuming this calculation to be as accurate as it is nice, (which remains to be proved,) it is absolutely nothing to the purpose. The City of London and the Mercers' Company (as trustees) had no right to alienate the ground on which Gresham College stood from the public for ever, for the wretched consideration of 500*l.* a-year, (!) let their own circumstances have been what they may. I believe the City club-house in Broad-street stands on a small portion of the Gresham estate. Let the present value of the site of Gresham College be estimated by the sum which was paid for the ground on which the City club-house stands, and we shall be not a little surprised at the result.

The subsequent history of—may we still call it *Gresham College*?—cannot fail to be a subject of regret with every reflecting mind. All that human foresight could devise for its permanent prosperity was accomplished by its founder. He made an ample provision for such salaries as could not fail to secure the services of men of sound attainments; and lest, in the midst of a crowded metropolis, any impediment to his scheme might arise from the want of a locality fitted for the peculiar necessities of a college, he destined his own capacious dwelling for the delivery of the lectures and the accommodation of the professors. What result he anticipated from these arrangements is sufficiently obvious, for at one period he wavered between endowing a college at Cambridge or in London;—he was undecided whether he should add another to those venerable halls which have defied alike the ravages of time and the innovations of a still more destructive agent, man; or whether, departing

from precedent, he should erect in London, where it was assuredly more wanted, an edifice as lasting in its structure, and in its internal constitution, as well calculated to resist encroachment. In thus anticipating for his college durability and permanent fame, there was surely nothing unreasonable; yet how have his hopes been frustrated! Two centuries and a half have scarcely elapsed since its foundation, and Gresham College exists but in name. The professorships are indeed still in existence,—nay, the professors are men of acknowledged ability; yet it is a fact, that at the period of the destruction of the Royal Exchange by fire in 1838, few persons knew where the lectures were delivered: or, to speak more truly, whether they were ever delivered at all.

We may be permitted to express a hope that a brighter day will ere long dawn on this noble foundation. We may be permitted to remind the trustees of Sir Thomas Gresham's property, that though they cannot be held responsible for the acts of their predecessors, the honour or the disgrace of all *future* arrangements *will* rest with *themselves*. The destruction of the Royal Exchange forms a new epoch; and they have it now in their power to establish the college once more on a solid foundation; to preserve its integrity; to promote its usefulness; to secure it (or rather what remains of it) against further encroachment. In order to effect this, either an edifice might be erected for the express purpose of the delivery of the Gresham Lectures: or the lectures might be transferred to some convenient spot, where they would be delivered without prejudice to the integrity of the college. And what locality so well adapted for this purpose as Crosby-Hall?—an edifice, remarkable at once for its architectural beauties and for its historical associations; rendered peculiarly appropriate for the delivery of the Gresham Lectures, from its having been, beyond a doubt, a building which their founder habitually frequented; and from occupying a site in the immediate vicinity of the ground whereon his mansion and college once stood: and, above all, the most proper place, because there are cogent reasons for believing that *there* the professors would not only be admitted, but experience a most hearty welcome. The tree has been removed from its parent earth, and it has well nigh withered; but who shall say what may be effected for it by careful culture, and the influences of a kindred soil?

But this is only one side of the picture. The City and the Mercers' Company may, without due care at the present juncture, become accessory to the acts of their predecessors; and identify themselves with the unworthy stewards of Gresham's bounty, who, in 1768, alienated his gift from the public for ever. To do this, it is

only necessary that they should appoint anew an obscure apartment over the Exchange about to be constructed, for the delivery of the Gresham Lectures,—which indeed have nothing in common with an edifice erected for commercial purposes; or that they should virtually annihilate the college, of which the name at least remains, by directing the professors to lecture in future at an otherwise independent institution, with whose interests they would, by degrees, infallibly become identified, until their lectures actually merged into the course of instruction pursued there. In a word, the time has arrived when something decisive must be accomplished for Gresham College. Let us hope that it will consist in a measure of reparation, approximating as nearly as possible to the clearly expressed will of the founder.

It becomes high time to dismiss this subject: but a few matters of fact remain to be told, and a few suggestions to be hazarded.

Lest it should be thought an omission, I must mention that, from a very early period, the seasons at which Gresham wished his lectures to be delivered, became a matter of discussion; and the point was disputed for a long time with considerable acrimony. Complaints on this subject arose as early as 1647; when a little quarto tract of eight pages appeared, entitled “Sir Thomas Gresham, his Ghost.” Facing the title-page, the old knight is represented in his shroud, holding a blazing torch; as if his indignant spirit had returned to visit earth, and to complain, with the author, that his lectures were read only in term-time; when the lecturers were “so superbiously pettish, that they will resolve no Quære that may advantage the Dubitour: nay, they are come to that strain that they will doe as they list; read whatt, when, how, and where they list; and not at all, if they list; and indeed they have their meanes for a song.” This fantastical phraseology, however, sounds very much like the language of unfounded cavil and complaint; of which there will always be an abundance at all times. The preceding publication must not be confounded with its namesake, which appeared, in 8vo., in 1784:—“Gresham’s Ghost; or, a Rap at the Excise-Office, London; being an Acrostic on Jeremiah, vii. 11. To which are added, acrostical Dirges concerning the seven liberal Sciences.” This idle performance also extends to the length of eight pages.—To return to the dispute concerning the periods of the year at which the Gresham lectures ought to be delivered; it only needs to be further stated that there appeared, a very worthless pamphlet on the subject in 1707; entitled “An Account of the Rise, Foundation, Progress, and Present State of Gresham College, &c. &c.; as also of some late Endeavours for obtaining the revival

and restitution of the Lectures there, with some remarks thereon." The object of the writer or writers seems to have been, to enforce the delivery of one lecture in every week by each of the lecturers, throughout the year: but the endeavour was unsuccessful. More on this subject is to be found in Ward's Preface, p. xvi. to p. xviii.

Instead of disputing whether it was the founder's intention that his lectures should be delivered out of term-time, as well as during term-time, might it not with more reasonableness have been suggested, that in endowing as many lectureships as there are days in the week, it was his wish that one lecture should be delivered on each day; and that the divinity lecture was designed for *Sunday*?

At the present period, when a rage for innovation, feebly disguised under a specious term which implies improvement, prevails so universally, it is possible that it will be suggested in many ways to remodel and alter the Gresham Lectures. But, in the writer's opinion, there is no occasion for any material change in the arrangements deliberately entered into in 1597. Notwithstanding the gigantic strides which have been made in every department of knowledge since the close of the sixteenth century, nothing occurs to one's remembrance to interfere with the simple and peculiar outline of study thereby prescribed; nor does it seem any disadvantage, but rather the contrary, that the system pursued at Gresham College should differ from that which prevails at other public institutions of a similar nature. Let us pass the regulations of 1597 in summary review: and, taking the lectures in their inverse order, how could the professor of Music better employ his time than by lecturing, first on the theoretic part of his science, and then illustrating his subject by vocal and instrumental performances? But the present lecturer is too excellent a master of his art to need any hints of mine.—Passing over Rhetoric, let us notice what was required of the professor of Astronomy. He was to read "the principles of the sphere and the theoriques of the planets," and to explain the use of "common instruments for the capacity of mariners;" which he was "to apply to use by reading geography and the art of navigation."—The Geometrician was to lecture for one term on arithmetic; the next, on theoretical geometry; the third, on practical geometry.—However obsolete the method prescribed for the professor of Medicine, it is based on sound practical wisdom. It was obviously intended, ("for that every man, for his health's sake, will desire to have some knowledge in the art of physic,") that the lecturer should deliver such a course of instruction, as should be of general interest and utility.—What could be more judicious than the course prescribed for the lecturer on Law: who "was to cull out such titles and heads

of law as might best serve to the capacity of the said auditory, [of merchants and citizens,] and are more usual in common practice?"—And surely if wisdom exists in all or any of these arrangements, it is most of all conspicuous in the duties assigned to the professor of Divinity, which seem to have been sketched out in almost a prophetic spirit. "The divinity reader shall employ his time in the said solemn lectures, in the sound handling of such controversies as concern the chief points of our Christian faith, specially those wherein the Church of England differs from the common adversaries, the Papists, and other sectaries; wherein he shall endeavour to confirm the truth of doctrine now established in the Church of England, and to refute the adverse party, and with great conscience and circumspection to sift out the true state of every controversy, specially drawn from the council of Trent and the late writers of refined Popery, and to overthrow their false opinions, first with scripture, then with consent of antiquity, and lastly with school-men and chief writers."



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